A SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT TIMES

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The So-called "Treasury," a Rock-Cut Temple (?) at Petra, in Ancient Edom. See References, p. 58.

(From a photograph by Franklin E. Hoskins and Philip Van Ness Myers)

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT TIMES

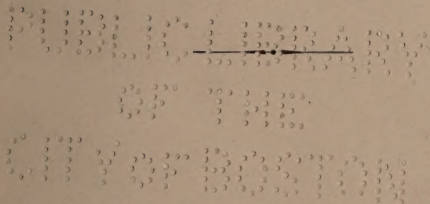
FOR

COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS

BY

PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF GREECE," "ROME: ITS RISE AND FALL," AND "A GENERAL HISTORY"



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PREFACE

The present volume consists of the first half of my revised "General History," with merely such changes in a few matters of detail as were necessary in order to make the book independent of the last half of that work, which part is to be issued as a separate volume under the title of "A Short History of Mediæval and Modern Times."

P. V. N. M.

College Hill, Ohio
May, 1906

CONTENTS

PAGE

LIST OF MAPS ix

CHAPTER

I. General Introduction: Prehistoric Times 1

DIVISION I — THE EASTERN NATIONS

II. Races and Groups of Peoples at the Dawn of History . . . 9

III. Ancient Egypt (from about 5000 to 30 B.C.) 14
I. Political History 14
II. Religion, Arts, and General Culture 20

IV. The Early City-States of Babylonia and the Old Babylonian Empire (from about 5000 to 1100 B.C.) 30
I. Political History 30
II. Arts and General Culture 34

V. The Assyrian and the Chaldean Empire 42
I. The Assyrian Empire (to 606 B.C.) 42
II. The Chaldean Empire (625–538 B.C.) 47

VI. The Hebrews 49

VII. The Phœnicians 54

VIII. The Persian Empire (558–330 B.C.) 59
I. Political History 59
II. Government, Religion, and Arts 62

IX. India and China 65
I. India 65
II. China 67

DIVISION II — GREECE

X. The Land and the People 71

XI. Prehistoric Times according to Greek Accounts 77

XII. The Inheritance of the Historic Greeks 84

CHAPTER PAGE

XIII. The Growth of Sparta 92

XIV. The Age of Colonization and of Tyrannies 98
I. The Age of Colonization (about 750–600 B.C.) . 98
II. The Tyrannies (about 650–500 B.C.) 102

XV. The History of Athens up to the Persian Wars 105

XVI. The Persian Wars (500–479 B.C.) 112

XVII. The Athenian Supremacy 124
I. The Making of the Athenian Empire (479–445 B.C.) 124
II. The Age of Pericles (445–431 B.C.) 129

XVIII. The Peloponnesian War; the Spartan and the Theban Supremacy 135
I. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) . . . 135
II. The Spartan and the Theban Supremacy . . . 145

XIX. Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) 149

XX. The Græco-Oriental World from the Death of Alexander to the Conquest of Greece by the Romans (323–146 B.C.) 157

XXI. Greek Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting 162
I. Architecture 162
II. Sculpture 166
III. Painting 170

XXII. Greek Literature 172

XXIII. Greek Philosophy and Science 180

XXIV. Social Life of the Greeks 189

DIVISION III — ROME

XXV. Italy and its Early Inhabitants 195

XXVI. Rome as a Kingdom 199
I. Society and Government 199
II. Religion 203
III. Rome under the Kings (753?–509 B.C.) 206

XXVII. The Early Republic; Plebeians become Citizens with Full Rights (509–367 B.C.) 210

XXVIII. The Conquest of Italy (367–264 B.C.) 221

CHAPTER PAGE

XXIX. The Punic Wars 227
I. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.) 227
II. Rome and Carthage between the First and the Second Punic War (241–218 B.C.) 232
III. The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) 235
IV. Events between the Second and the Third Punic War (201–146 B.C.) 241
V. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) 244

XXX. The Last Century of the Republic (133–31 B.C.) 248

XXXI. The Establishment of the Empire and the Reign of Augustus Cæsar (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) 274

XXXII. From Tiberius to the Accession of Diocletian (A.D. 14–284) 281

XXXIII. Diocletian and Constantine the Great 297
I. The Reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305) . . . 297
II. Reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337) . 300

XXXIV. The Last Century of the Empire in the West (A.D. 376–476) 305

XXXV. Architecture, Literature, Law, and Social Life among the Romans 317
I. Architecture 317
II. Literature, Philosophy, and Law 320
III. Social Life 325

DIVISION IV—THE ROMANO-GERMAN OR TRANSITION AGE (A.D. 476–800)

XXXVI. The Barbarian Kingdoms 332
XXXVII. The Church and its Institutions 337
I. The Conversion of the Barbarians 337
II. The Rise of Monasticism 341
III. The Rise of the Papacy 344
XXXVIII. The Fusion of Latin and Teuton 349
XXXIX. The Roman Empire in the East 354
XL. The Rise of Islam 358
XLI. Charlemagne and the Restoration of the Empire in the West 368

INDEX 375

LIST OF MAPS

COLORED MAPS

Based in the main on Kiepert, Schrader, Droysen, Spruner-Sieglin, Poole, and Freeman. Many of the maps have been so modified by additions and omissions that as they here appear they are practically new charts.

		Facing Page
1.	Ancient Egypt	14
2.	Assyrian Empire, about 660 B.C.	42
3.	The Division of Solomon's Kingdom, about 953 B.C.	50
4.	The Persian Empire under Darius I, about 500 B.C.	60
5.	General Reference Map of Ancient Greece	72
6.	Greece and the Greek Colonies	98
7.	The Greek World at the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War, 431 B.C.	136
8.	Empire of Alexander the Great, about 323 B.C.	152
9.	Ancient Italy before the Rise of Rome	196
10.	The Mediterranean Lands at the Beginning of the Second Punic War, 218 B.C.	236
11.	The Roman Dominions at the End of the Mithradatic War, 64 B.C.	262
12.	The Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent (under Trajan, A.D. 98–117)	288
13.	The Barbarian Kingdoms, about A.D. 500	332
14.	The Saracen Empire, about A.D. 750	362
15.	The Western Empire as divided at Verdun, A.D. 843	372

SKETCH MAPS

1.	The World according to Homer	91
2.	Athens and her Long Walls	128
3.	The Roman Domain and the Latin Confederacy, about 450 B.C.	213
4.	The Roman Empire under Justinian	355

SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT TIMES

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. The Antiquity of Man. — We do not know when man first appeared upon the earth. We only know that in ages long past, when both the climate and the outline of the continents were very different from what they are at present, primitive man roamed over them with animals now extinct; and that, about 5000 B.C., when the historic curtain first rises, in some favored regions, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, there were nations and civilizations already venerable with age, and possessing arts, governments, and institutions that bear evidence of slow growth through very long periods of time.

2. The Prehistoric and the Historic Age. — The uncounted millenniums which lie back of the time when man began to keep written records of what he thought and did and of what befell him, are called the Prehistoric Age.

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The comparatively few centuries of human life which are made known to us through written records comprise the Historic Age. In the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates there have been discovered written records which were made at least four or five thousand years before Christ; so we say that the historic period began in those lands six or seven thousand years ago. In most other regions the historic period began at a much later date. Thus the truly Historic Age did not open in Greece and Italy until about 800 or 700 B.C.

3. Divisions of Prehistoric Times. — The long period of prehistoric times is divided into different ages, which are named from the materials which man used in the manufacture of his weapons and tools. The earliest epoch is known as the Paleolithic or Old

Stone Age; the following one as the Neolithic or New Stone Age; and the later period as the Age of Metals. The division lines between these ages are not sharply drawn. In most countries the epochs run into and overlap one another, just as in modern times the Age of Steam runs into and overlaps the Age of Electricity.

4. The Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. — In the Old Stone Age man's implements were usually made of stone, and particularly of easily chipped flints, though sometimes bones, horns, tusks, and other material were used in their manufacture. These rude tools and weapons of Paleolithic man, found in gravel beds and in caves, are the very oldest things in existence shaped by human hands.

FIG. 1. — THE EARLIEST IMPLEMENTS OF PALEOLITHIC TYPE

The man of the Old Stone Age saw the retreating glaciers of the last great ice age, of which geology tells us. Among the animals which lived with him on the continent of Europe — we know most of Paleolithic man there — were the mammoth, the wild horse, and the reindeer; species now extinct or which are no longer found in the regions where primitive man hunted them.

What we know of Paleolithic man may be summed up as follows: he was a hunter and fisher; his habitation was a cave or a rock shelter; his implements were in the main roughly shaped flints; he had no domestic animals save possibly the dog and the reindeer; and he was practically ignorant of the art of making pottery.

The length of the Old Stone Age no one knows; we do not attempt to reckon its duration by centuries or millenniums even, but only by geologic epochs. But we do know that the long slow

epochs did not pass away without some progress having been made by primeval man, a progress prophetic of his great future. Before the end of the age he had learned the use of fire, as we know from the traces of fire found in the caves which were his abode, and had invented the bow and arrow, as is evidenced by arrowheads of flint and of bone which have been discovered. This important invention gave man what was to be one of his chief weapons in the chase and in war down to and even after the invention of firearms late in the historic age.

FIG. 2. — ENGRAVING OF A REINDEER[1] (Old Stone Age)

Strange as it may seem, the man of this epoch was in his way an artist. The accompanying cuts (Figs. 2 and 3) are reproductions of celebrated engravings made by Paleolithic man.

5. The Neolithic or New Stone Age. — The Old Stone Age was followed by the New. Chipped or hammered stone implements still continued to be used, but what characterizes this period was the use of ground or polished implements. The North American Indians were in this stage of culture at the time of the discovery of the New World.

FIG. 3. — ENGRAVING OF A MAMMOTH ON THE FRAGMENT OF A TUSK[1] (Old Stone Age)

Neolithic man in Europe was in many respects much advanced over Paleolithic man. He had learned to cultivate the soil; he had learned to make pottery, to spin, and to weave; he had tamed various wild animals; he built houses; and he buried his dead in such a manner — with "accompanying gifts" (Fig. 4) — as to show that he believed in a future life.

[1] These interesting art objects are from France. They represent the earliest artistic efforts of man of which we have knowledge. In comparison with them, the pictures on the oldest Egyptian monuments are modern.

6. The Age of Metals. — Finally the long ages of stone passed into the Age of Metals. This age falls into three subdivisions, — the Age of Copper, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Some peoples, like the African negroes, passed directly from the use of stone to the use of iron; but in most of the countries of the Orient and of Europe the three metals came into use one after the other and in the order named.[2]

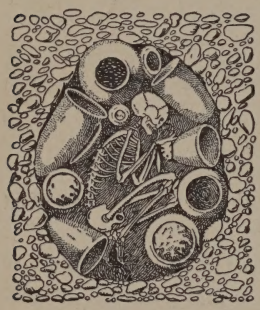

FIG. 4. — A PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN TOMB

The history of metals has been declared to be the history of civilization. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to overestimate their importance to man. Man could do very little with stone implements compared with what he could do with metal implements. It was a great labor for primitive man, even with the aid of fire, to fell a tree with a stone ax and to hollow out the trunk for a boat. It was only as the bearer of metal implements and weapons that he began really to subdue the earth and to get dominion over nature.

7. The Origin of the Use of Fire. — In this and following paragraphs we shall dwell briefly upon some of the special discoveries and achievements, several of which have already been mentioned, marking important steps in man's progress during the prehistoric ages. Prominent among these was the discovery of fire.

As to the way in which early man came into possession of fire we have no knowledge. Possibly he kindled his first fire from a glowing lava stream or from some burning tree trunk set aflame by the lightning. However this may be, he had in the earliest times learned to produce the vital spark by means of friction. The fire borer is among the oldest of human inventions.

[2] The use of copper seems to have begun among the peoples of the Orient before 5000 B.C. It is a soft metal, and tools and weapons made of it were not so greatly superior to the stone ones then in use as to put them out of service. But either by accident or through experiment it was discovered that by mixing about nine parts of copper with one part of tin a new metal, called bronze, much harder than either tin

Only gradually did primeval man learn the different uses to which fire might be put, just as historic man has only gradually learned the possible uses of electricity. By some happy accident or discovery he learned that it would harden clay, and he became a potter; that it would smelt ores, and he became a worker in metals; and that it would aid him in a hundred other ways. "Fire," says Joly, "presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress." The place it holds in the development of the family, of religion, and of the industrial arts is revealed by these three significant words, — "the hearth, the altar, the forge." No other agent has contributed more to the progress of civilization. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how without fire primitive man could ever have emerged from the Age of Stone.

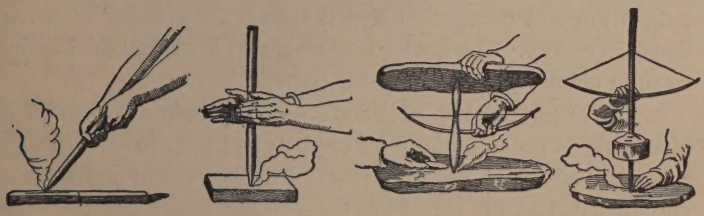

FIG. 5. — PRIMITIVE METHODS OF MAKING FIRE

8. The Domestication of Animals. — "When we visit a farm at the present day and observe the friendly nature of the life which goes on there, — the horse proudly and obediently bending his neck to his yoke; the cow offering her streaming udder to the milkmaid; the woolly flock going forth to the field, accompanied by their trusty protector, the dog, who comes fawning to his master, — this familiar intercourse between man and beast seems so natural that it is scarcely conceivable that things may once have been different.

or copper, could be made. So greatly superior were bronze to stone implements that their introduction caused the use of stone for tools and weapons to be discontinued, and consequently the Age of Bronze constitutes a well-defined and important epoch in the history of culture. Bronze seems to have been used by the first kings of Egypt, about 4500 B.C. From the East the metal was carried into Europe. Iron was already in use among the Oriental peoples about 1500 B.C., and was gradually introduced among the European tribes.

And yet in the picture we see only the final result of thousands and thousands of years of the work of civilization, the enormous importance of which simply escapes our notice because it is by everyday wonders that our amazement is least excited." [3]

The most of this work of inducing the animals of the fields and woods to become as it were members or dependents of the human family, to enter into a league of friendship with man and to become his helpers, was done by prehistoric man. When man appears in history, he appears surrounded by almost all the domestic animals known to us to-day. The horse was already his willing servant; the dog was his faithful companion; the sheep, the cow, and the goat shared his shelter with him.

The domestication of animals had such a profound effect upon human life and occupation that it marks the opening of a new epoch in history. The hunter became a shepherd, and the hunting stage in culture gave place to the pastoral.[4]

9. **The Domestication of Plants.** — Long before the dawn of history those peoples who were to play great parts in early historic times had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of culture. Just as the step from the hunting to the pastoral stage had been taken with the aid of a few of the most social species of animals, so had this second upward step been taken by means of the domestication of a few of the innumerable species of the seed grasses and plants growing wild in field and wood. Wheat and barley, two of the most important of the cereals, were probably first domesticated on the plains of Babylonia and from there carried over Asia and Europe.

The domestication of plants and the art of tilling the soil effected a great revolution in prehistoric society. The wandering life of the hunter and the herder now gave way to a settled mode of existence. Population thickened, villages grew into cities, great kingdoms were formed, and the political history of man began, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

[3] SCHRADER, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (London, 1890), p. 259.

[4] It is of interest to know that most of the wild stocks whence have come our domestic animals are of Old-World origin.

10. The Formation of Language. — Another great achievement of primitive man was the making of language, for, as Tylor observes, "the main work of language-making was done in the ages before history." Periods of time like geologic epochs must have been required for the formation, out of the scanty speech of the first men, of the rich and copious languages already upon the lips of the great peoples of antiquity, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Greeks and Romans, when they first appear in the morning light of history.

We need not dwell upon the inestimable value to man of the acquisition of language. Without it, so far as we can see, he must have remained forever in an unprogressive and savage or semi-savage state.

11. The Invention of Writing. — Still another achievement of prehistoric man, and after the making of language perhaps his greatest, was the invention of writing. There are two kinds of writing, — picture writing and phonetic or sound writing. In picture writing the characters are in the main rude pictures of material objects. This way of representing ideas seems natural to man. It is a form of writing still in use among some of the American Indians.

In phonetic writing the symbols represent sounds of the human voice. There are three stages. In the first stage each picture or symbol stands for a whole word. In such a system as this there must of course be as many characters or signs as there are words in the language represented. In working out their system of writing the Chinese stuck fast at this point (sec. 102).

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In the second stage the symbols are used to represent syllables instead of words. This reduces at once the number of signs needed from many thousands to a few hundreds, since the words of any given language are formed by the combination of a comparatively small number of syllables. With between four and five hundred symbols the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, who used this form of writing, were able to represent all the words of their respective languages (sec. 49).

In the third stage the symbols are used to represent not syllables but elementary sounds of the human voice. Then the symbols

become true letters, a complete collection of which is called an alphabet, and the mode of writing alphabetic. This is the system of writing which we employ.

What people invented the first alphabet is unknown; but as early as the ninth century B.C. we find several Semitic peoples in possession of a true alphabet. Through the agency of traders this alphabet was spread east and west, and became the parent of most of the existing alphabets of the world (sec. 86).

With the invention of phonetic writing and the practice of keeping records, with names of actors and dates of events, the truly historic age for man begins.

12. The Great Bequest. — We of this twentieth century esteem ourselves fortunate in being the heirs of a noble heritage, the heirs of all the past. We are not used to thinking of the men of the first generation of historic times as also the heirs of a great legacy. But even the scanty review we have made of what was discovered and thought out by man during the long epochs before history began cannot fail to have impressed us with the fact that a vast bequest was made by prehistoric to historic man.

If our hasty glance at those far-away times has done nothing more than this, then we shall never again regard history quite as may have been our wont. We shall see the story of man to be more wonderful than we once thought, the path which he has followed to be longer and more toilsome than we ever imagined. But our interest in the traveler will have been deepened through our knowing more of his origin, of his early hard and narrow life, and of his first painful steps in the path of civilization.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The relation of domesticated animals to man's progress in civilization. See *Shaler*. 2. The origin of writing.

Division I — The Eastern Nations

CHAPTER II

RACES AND GROUPS OF PEOPLES AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

13. Subdivisions of the Historic Age. — We begin now our study of the historic age, — a record of about seven thousand years. The story of these millenniums is usually divided into three parts, — Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Ancient History begins, as already indicated, with the earliest nations of which we can gain any certain knowledge through written records, and extends to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, A.D. 476. Mediæval History embraces the period, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the mediæval period and extends to the present time.[1]

It is Ancient History alone with which we shall be concerned in the present volume.

14. The Races of Mankind in the Historic Period. — Distinctions in bodily characteristics, such as form, color, and features, divide the human species into three chief types or races, known as the Black or Ethiopian Race, the Yellow or Mongolian Race, and the White or Caucasian Race.[2] But we must not suppose

[1] It is thought preferable by some scholars to let the beginning of the great Teutonic migration (A.D. 376) or the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne (A.D. 800) mark the end of the period of Ancient History. Some also prefer to date the beginning of the modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453); while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the fifteenth century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and a great stir in the intellectual world.

[2] Some ethnologists reckon a greater number of types or races. The classification given is simply a convenient and practical one (see table, p. 13).

each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others; they shade into one another by insensible gradations.

We assume the original unity of the human race. It is probable that the physical and mental differences of existing races arose through their progenitors having been subjected to different climatic influences and to different conditions of life through long periods of prehistoric time. There has been no perceptible change in the great types during the historic age. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy.

FIG. 6. — NEGRO CAPTIVES
(From the monuments of Thebes)
Illustrating the permanence of race characteristics

15. The Black Race. — Africa south of the Sahara is the home of the peoples of the Black Race, but we find them on all the other continents and on many of the islands of the seas, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races; for since time immemorial they have been "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their more favored brethren.

16. The Yellow or Mongolian Race. — Eastern and Northern Asia is the central seat of the Mongolian Race. Many of the Mongolian tribes are pastoral nomads, who roam over the vast Asian plains north of the great ranges of the Himalayas. Their leading part in history has been to harass peoples of settled habits.

But the most important peoples of this type are the Japanese and Chinese. The latter constitute probably a fifth or more of the entire population of the earth. Already in times very remote the Chinese had developed a civilization quite advanced on various lines, but having reached a certain stage in culture they did not continue to make so marked a progress. Not until recent times did either the Chinese or the Japanese become a factor of significance in world history.

17. The White Race and its Three Groups. — The so-called White Race embraces the historic nations. The chief peoples of this division of mankind fall into three groups, — the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan or Indo-European. The members forming any one of these groups must not be looked upon as necessarily kindred in blood; the only certain bond uniting the peoples of each group is the bond of language.[3]

The ancient Egyptians were the chief people of the Hamitic branch. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had long training in the art of building.

The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Aramæans, and the Arabians. Most scholars regard Arabia as the original home of this family.[4] It is interesting to note that three great monotheistic religions — the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan — arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic family.

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The Aryan-speaking peoples form the most widely dispersed group of the White Race. They include the ancient Greeks and Romans, all the peoples of modern Europe (save the Basques, the Finns and Lapps, the Hungarians, and the Ottoman Turks), together with the Persians, the Hindus, and some other Asian peoples.[5] After what we may call the Semitic age it is the

[3] In the case of the Semites and the Hamites, it is probable that the most of the peoples forming each group are in the main actually of the same stock.

[4] It is held by some, however, that the Semites at a very early time immigrated to Arabia from Africa, where they had lived in close relation with the Hamites. In successive waves they seem to have settled in the lands adjoining the Syro-Arabian desert, first the Babylonians and Assyrians, then apparently the Canaanitic and subsequently the Hebrew peoples, the Arabians and the Chaldeans, while Abyssinia clearly received its Semitic population from southwestern Arabia.

[5] Some scholars seek the early home of the primitive Aryan folk in Asia, others look for it in Europe, while still others declare the search to be wholly futile. Long before the dawn of history in Europe, and while they were yet in the Neolithic stage of culture, the clans and tribes of the hitherto undivided Aryan family began to separate and to spread abroad over the earth. This prehistoric Aryan expansion can

Aryan-speaking peoples that have borne the leading parts in the great drama of history.

References. — SCHRADER, O., *The Prehistoric Civilization of the Aryan Peoples.* RIPLEY, W. Z., *The Races of Europe.* IHERING, R. VON, *The Evolution of the Aryan.* KEANE, A. H., *Man, Past and Present.* DENIKER, J., *The Races of Man.* SERGI, G., *The Mediterranean Race.* All these works are for the teacher and the advanced student. BRINTON, D. G., *Races and Peoples*, and TAYLOR, G., *The Origin of the Aryans*, can be used by younger readers.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Causes of physical and mental differences between races. See *Brinton.* 2. The Aryans. See *Taylor.*

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best be made plain by the use of an historical parallel, — the Roman expansion. From their cradle city on the Tiber, the ancient Romans — a folk Aryan in speech if not in race — went out as conquerors and colonizers of the Mediterranean world. Wherever they went they carried their language and their civilization with them. Many of the peoples whom they subjected gave up their own speech, and along with the civilization of their conquerors adopted also their language. In this way a large part of the ancient world became Romanized in speech and culture. When the Roman Empire broke up, there arose a number of Latin-speaking nations, — among these, the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. During the modern age these Romanized nations, through conquest and colonization, have spread their Latin speech and civilization over a great part of the New World. Thus it has come about that to-day the language of the ancient Romans, differentiated into many dialects, is spoken by peoples spread over the earth from Rumania in Eastern Europe to Chile in South America. All these peoples we call Latins, not because they are all descended from the ancient Romans, — in fact they belong to many different ethnic stocks, — but because they all speak languages derived from the old Roman speech. Just as we use the term Latin here, so do we use the term Aryan in connection with the Aryan-speaking peoples.

CHIEF RACES AND PEOPLES

The larger divisions (races) are based on physical characteristics, the smaller on language.

- **Black Race (Ethiopian or Negro)** — Tribes and peoples whose true home is Central and Southern Africa.
- **Yellow Race (Mongolian or "Turanian")** — (1) The Chinese, Japanese, and kindred peoples of Eastern Asia; (2) the nomads (Tartars, Mongols, etc.) of Northern and Central Asia and of Eastern Russia; (3) the Turks, the Magyars, or Hungarians, the Finns and Lapps, and the Basques, in Europe.
- **White Race (Caucasian)**
  - Hamites
    - Egyptians
    - Libyans (modern Berbers)
  - Semites
    - Babylonians
    - Assyrians
    - Phœnicians
    - Hebrews
    - Aramæans
    - Arabians
  - Aryans, or Indo-Europeans
    - Asiatics
      - Hindus
      - Medes
      - Persians
    - Classical peoples
      - Greeks
      - Romans
    - Celts
      - Gauls
      - Britons
      - Scots (Irish)
      - Picts
    - Teutons
      - Germans
      - English
      - Scandinavians
    - Slavs
      - Russians
      - Poles, etc.

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The Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Bretons of Brittany, in France, are the present representatives of the ancient Celts.

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT EGYPT

(From about 5000 to 30 B.C.)

I. Political History

18. Egypt and the Nile. — The Egypt of history comprises the Delta of the Nile and the flood plains of its lower course. These rich lands were formed in past geologic ages from the sediment brought down by the river in seasons of flood. The Delta was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt, while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the Delta to the First Cataract, a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized; hence the Greek historian Herodotus, in a happy phrase, called the country "the gift of the Nile." Swollen by heavy tropical rains and the melting snows of the mountains about its sources, the Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and towards the first of October, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of a turbid sea.

FIG. 7. — PLOWING AND SOWING
(From a papyrus)

By the end of November the river has returned to its bed, leaving the fields covered with a film of rich earth. In a few weeks after the sowing of the grain, the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast to the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

19. Climate and Products. — In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant; but the climate of Upper

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Rosetta Mouth
Damietta Mouth
Canopus
Alexandria
Sais
Ayaris
Tanis
Pelusium
Naucratis
LOWER EGYPT
Pithom
GOSHEN
Heliopolis
PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH
Memphis
Lake Maris
FAYUM
Nile River
LIBYA
UPPER EGYPT
Antinoe
TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN
Tell el-Amarna
This or Abydos
Thebes
(Karnak and Luxor)
THE THEBAID
Nile River
First Cataract
Syene
I. Elephantine
I. Philæ
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Raphia
Gaza
Dead Sea
ARABIA
MT. SINAI
RED SEA
ETHIOPIA
(NUBIA)
Abu Simbel
or Ipsambul
Second Cataract
ANCIENT EGYPT
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
Scale of Miles
Longitude east from Paris
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Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers, as a rule, falling throughout the year. This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousand years, in such wonderful freshness of color and with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the monuments of the country.

The climate of Egypt is semi-tropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. From early times the land was the granary of the East. To it less favored countries, when stricken by famine, — a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall, — looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

20. The Thirty-One Dynasties. — The Pharaohs, or kings, that reigned in Egypt from Menes till the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) are grouped into thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who compiled in the Greek language a chronicle of the kings of the country. The history of these thirty-one dynasties covers a period of upwards of four thousand years.

21. Menes, and the First Three Dynasties (about 4500–3700 B.C.). — Menes was the founder of the so-called First Dynasty. Tradition represents him as the builder of the great city of Memphis, near the head of the Delta. Recently there have been found monuments not only of this king but also of several other Pharaohs of the first three dynasties. Thus slowly is the material for the history of these remote times being accumulated.

22. The Fourth Dynasty: the Pyramid Kings (about 3700–3550 B.C.). — The kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the pyramid builders. Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, was the greatest of these rulers. He built the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh, — "the greatest mass of masonry that has ever been put together by mortal man."[1]

[1] This pyramid rises from a base covering thirteen acres to a height of four hundred and fifty feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed one hundred thousand men for twenty years in its erection.

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A recent fortunate discovery enables us now to look upon the face of this Cheops (Fig. 8), one of the earliest and most renowned personages of the ancient world. "As far as force of will goes," says Professor Flinders Petrie, "the strongest characters in history would look pliable in this presence. . . . There is no face quite parallel to this in all the portraits that we know, — Egyptian, Greek, Roman, or modern."

FIG. 8. — KHUFU, BUILDER OF THE GREAT PYRAMID

The pyramids are among the most venerable memorials of the early world that have been preserved to us. Although standing so far back in the gray dawn of the historic morning, they mark not the beginning but in some respects the perfection of Egyptian art. They speak of long periods of human life, of ages of growth and experience, lying behind the era they represent. It is this vast and mysterious background that impresses us even more than these giant forms cast up against it.

23. The Twelfth Dynasty (about 2500–2300 B.C.). — After the Sixth Dynasty, Egypt for several centuries is almost lost from view. When finally the valley emerges from the obscurity of this period, the old capital, Memphis, has receded into the background and the city of Thebes has taken its place as the seat of the royal power.

The period of the Twelfth Dynasty, a line of Theban kings, is one of the brightest in Egyptian history. It has been called Egypt's Golden Age. One of the most notable achievements of the period was the improvement made by one of the kings in the irrigation of the Fayum from Lake Mœris (see map, p. 14), a lake formed by the Nile flowing into a depression in the desert west of Memphis.

24. The Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (about 1985–1575 B.C.). — Soon after the bright period of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt again suffered a great eclipse. Nomadic tribes from Asia pressed across the eastern frontier of Egypt and gradually took possession of the inviting pasture lands of the Delta, and established there the empire of the Shepherd Kings. It is thought by some scholars that it was during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt. At last these intruders, after a hard struggle, were expelled by the Theban kings and driven back into Asia.

FIG. 9. — THE "SHEIKH-EL-BELED." (Gizeh Museum)

Supposed portrait statue of one of the overseers of the work on the Great Pyramid. This is one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture

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Various elements of the civilization which had long been developing independently in the Asian lands were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. Among these elements we may quite safely include the horse and the war chariot, since these now appear for the first time upon the monuments of the country. From this period forward the war chariot holds a place of first importance in the armaments of the Pharaohs.

25. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (about 1575–1253 B.C.). — It is the deeds and architectural works of the Pharaohs of these two celebrated dynasties that have contributed largely to give Egypt her great name and place in history. The most

eventful and memorable period in Egyptian history, a period covered by what is called the New Empire,[2] now opens.

One of the greatest kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty[3] was Thothmes III (about 1500–1450 B.C.). He has been called "the Alexander of Egyptian history." During his reign the empire reached its greatest expansion. In Asia Thothmes' authority extended beyond the Euphrates.

The two most renowned rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty were Seti I (about 1356–1347 B.C.) and Rameses II (about 1347–1280 B.C.). Seti was a great warrior. One of the most important of his campaigns was that against the Hittites (*Khita* in the inscriptions) and their allies. The Hittites were a powerful non-Semitic people, whose capital was Carchemish on the Euphrates, and whose strength and influence were now so great as to be a threat to Egyptian dominion in Syria.[4]

Rameses II, surnamed the Great, was the Sesostris of the Greeks. The chief of his wars were those against the Hittites, of whom we have just spoken. He evidently failed to break their power, for we find him at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty. In this treaty the chief of the Hittites is called "The Great King of the Khita," and is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the king of Egypt.

[2] The so-called New Empire embraces the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first dynasties. The first ten dynasties comprise the Old Empire, and the next seven the Middle Empire.

[3] The name of one of the sovereigns of this Eighteenth Dynasty (the "heretic king," Amenhotep IV, or Akhenaten, 1403–1385 B.C.) is connected with one of the most interesting and important discoveries ever made on Oriental ground. This was the discovery in 1887, at Tell-el-Amarna, on the Nile, of several hundred letters, written in the Babylonian language and script and comprising the correspondence, not only between the reigning Pharaoh and the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, but also between the Egyptian court and the Egyptian governors and vassal kings of various Syrian towns. The significance of this discovery consists in the revelation it makes of the deep hold that the civilization of Babylon had upon the Syrian lands centuries before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine.

[4] We know very little about this people, save that for several centuries they divided with Egypt and Assyria the dominion of Western Asia. They had a system of hieroglyphic writing and left some inscriptions, but these have not yet been deciphered. Interesting and extensive remains of one of their great cities lie on the uplands of Asia Minor.

It is the opinion of some scholars that this Rameses II was the oppressor of the children of Israel, the Pharaoh who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field" (Ex. i. 14), and that what is known as the Exodus took place in the reign of his son, Menephtha (about 1275 B.C.).

26. The Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (663–525 B.C.). — We pass without comment a long period of several centuries. During the latter part of this time Egypt was tributary to Ethopia or to Assyria; but a native prince, Psammetichus by name, with the

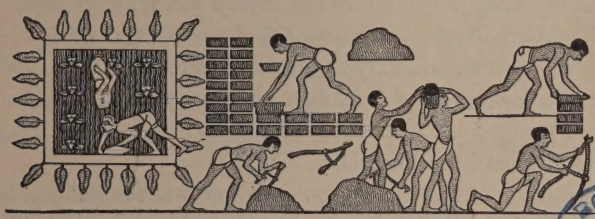

FIG. 10. — BRICK MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT. (From Thebes)

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aid of Greek mercenaries, drove out the foreign garrisons, and became the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (about 663 B.C.).

The reign of this monarch marks a new era in Egyptian history. He reversed the policy of the past and threw open the country to the commerce and influences of the world. This change of policy, occurring at just the period when the Greeks were coming prominently forward to play their great part in history, was a most significant event. From this time on Greek philosophers are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without question the learning and philosophy of the old Egyptians exercised a profound influence upon the open, receptive mind of the Greek race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.

The son of Psammetichus, Necho II (610–594 B.C.), followed the liberal policy marked out by his father. In order to be able to bring together at any time his war ships either in the Red Sea or in the Mediterranean, he attempted to reopen an old canal uniting

the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been dug by earlier Pharaohs, but had now become unnavigable. Failing in this undertaking, he fitted out an expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, in hopes of finding a natural water way connecting the two seas.

The expedition, we have reason to believe, actually accomplished the feat of sailing around the continent; for the historian Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that, when they were rounding the cape, the sun was on their right hand (to the north). This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us the very strongest evidence possible that the voyage was really performed.

27. The Last of the Pharaohs. — Before the end of Necho's reign Egypt became tributary to Babylon, and a little later bowed beneath the Persian yoke (sec. 89). From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. to the present day no native prince has sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

II. Religion, Arts, and General Culture

28. Classes of Society. — Egyptian society was divided into three chief classes,[5] — priests, soldiers, and common people; the last embracing shepherds, husbandmen, shopkeepers, and artisans.

The sacerdotal order consisted of priests, prophets, scribes, sacred sculptors, masons, and embalmers. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple service mainly from the income of the sacred lands, which are said to have embraced one third of the soil of the country.

The priests were extremely scrupulous in the care of their persons. They bathed twice by day and twice by night, and shaved the entire body every third day. Their inner clothing was linen, woolen garments being thought unclean; their diet was plain and

[5] These divisions are more properly designated as classes than castes. For the characteristic features of the latter, as existing among the Hindus, see sec. 97.

even abstemious, in order that, as an old Greek writer explains, "their bodies might sit light as possible about their souls."

Next to the priesthood in rank and honor stood the military order. Like the priests, the soldiers formed a landed class. To each soldier was given a tract of about eight acres, exempt from all taxes.

29. The Egyptian System of Writing. — Perhaps the greatest achievement of the ancient Egyptians was the working out of a

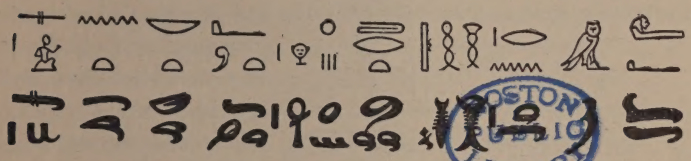
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FIG. 11. — FORMS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING. (After *Hommel*)

The top line is hieroglyphic script; the bottom line is the same text in hieratic

system of writing. By the opening of the fifth millennium B.C. they had developed a very curious and complex system, which was partly picture writing and partly alphabetic writing.

Just as we have two forms of letters, one for printing and another for writing, so the Egyptians employed three forms of script: the *hieroglyphic*, in which the pictures and symbols were carefully drawn, — a form generally employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, a simplified form of the hieroglyphic, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and the *demotic* or *enchorial*, a still further simplification of the hieratic form.

FIG. 12. — THE ROSETTA STONE

30. The Rosetta Stone and the Key to Egyptian Writing. — The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, which was found by the French when they invaded Egypt in 1798. This precious relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds an inscription in the

Egyptian and the Greek language, which is written in three different forms of script, — in the Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic and in Greek characters. The chief credit of deciphering the Egyptian script and of opening up the long-sealed libraries of Egyptian learning is commonly allotted to the French scholar Champollion.

31. Egyptian Literature. — The literature opened up to us by the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is varied and instructive, revealing as it does the life and thought and scientific attainments of old Egypt at a time when the Greek world was yet young. There is the ancient *Book of the Dead*,[6] intended for the use and instruction of the soul in its perilous journey to the realms of the blessed in the nether world; there are novels or romances and fairy tales, among which are "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper," and a story written expressly for the amusement of the little son of Rameses II; treatises on medicine, astronomy, and various other scientific subjects; and books on history which fully justify the declaration of Egyptian priests to the Greek philosopher Solon:

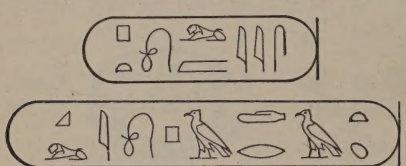
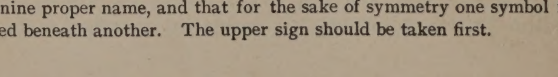


FIG. 13. — TWO ROYAL NAMES IN HIEROGLYPHICS

It was the first of these names which gave the clew to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic script. Through a comparison of the two the values of several symbols were definitely determined[7]

[6] The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, made from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water channels of the Nile. From the names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words "Bible" and "paper."

[7] The twelve hieroglyphics used in writing these names have the following values:



With these the reader will easily decipher the names. It should be noted that the last two signs in the longer word are used merely to indicate that the word is a feminine proper name, and that for the sake of symmetry one symbol is sometimes placed beneath another. The upper sign should be taken first.

"You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain; you know nothing at all of the past."

32. The Egyptian Gods. — The Egyptians were polytheists, that is, worshipers of many gods. Their divinities were often grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that formed by Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus, their son. The members of this triad were worshiped throughout Egypt.

The god Set, called Typhon by the Greek writers, was the Satan of Egyptian mythology. While the beneficent Osiris was symbolized by the life-giving Nile, the malignant Typhon was emblemized by the terrors and barrenness of the desert.

33. Animal Worship. — The Egyptians regarded certain animals as emblems of the gods, and hence worshiped them. To kill one of these sacred animals was adjudged the greatest impiety. The scarab or beetle was especially sacred, being considered an emblem of life. Not only were various animals held sacred, as being the emblems of certain deities, but some were thought to be real gods. Thus the soul of Osiris, it was imagined, animated the body of some bull, which might be known from certain spots and markings. The body of the deceased bull, or Apis, as he was called, was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, deposited in the tomb of his predecessors.

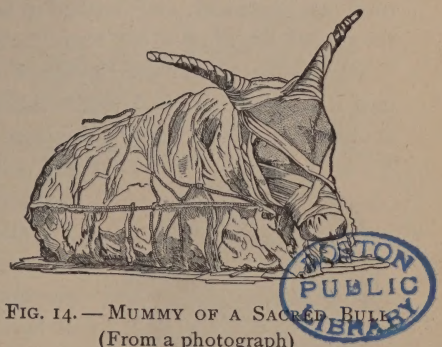


FIG. 14. — MUMMY OF A SACRED BULL
(From a photograph)

Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of such a debased form of worship among so cultured a people as the ancient Egyptians. Probably the sacred animals in the later worship represent a primitive stage of the Egyptian religion.

34. The Egyptian Doctrine of a Future Life. — Among no other people of antiquity did the life beyond the tomb seem so real

and hold so large a place in the thoughts of the living as among the Egyptians. This belief in a future life, taken in connection with certain ideas respecting the needs of the soul, reacted in a remarkable way upon the earthly life of the people of ancient Egypt. It was the cause and motive of many of the things they did.

35. **The Embalmment of the Body.** — The first need of the soul was the possession of the old body, upon the preservation of which the existence or at least the welfare of the soul was thought to depend. Hence the anxious care with which the Egyptians sought to preserve the body against decay by embalming it.

In the various processes of embalming, use was made of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. To a body thus treated is applied the term "mummy."

To this practice of the Egyptians of embalming their dead we owe it that we can look upon the actual faces of many of the ancient Pharaohs. Towards the close of the last century (in 1881) the mummies of nearly all the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first dynasties were found in a secret rock chamber near Thebes. The faces of Seti and Rameses, both strong faces, are so remarkably preserved that, in the words of Maspero, "were their subjects to return to the earth to-day they could not fail to recognize their old sovereigns."

FIG. 15. — PROFILE OF RAMESES II. (From a photograph of the mummy)

36. **The Pyramids as Sepulchers; the Rock-Hewn Tombs.** — The same belief which led to the embalmment of the body led also to the construction of secure and magnificent tombs. Upon the temporary homes of the living the Egyptians bestowed little care, but upon the "eternal abodes" of the dead they lavished unstinted labor

and cost. The tombs of the official class and of the rich were structures of brick and stone, or chambers cut in the limestone cliffs that rim the Nile valley. The bodies of the earlier Pharaohs were hidden away in the heart of great mountains of stone, — the pyramids. Many of the later Pharaohs constructed for themselves magnificent rock-cut tombs. In the cliffs of a valley back of Thebes there are so many of these royal sepulchers that the place has been called the "Westminster Abbey of Egypt."

37. "The Accompanying Gifts" or the "Dowery of the Dead." — We have seen that the first need of the soul was the preservation of the old body. Along with the mummy there were often placed in the tomb a number of wood, clay, or gold portrait statuettes of the deceased. The lid of the coffin was also carved in the form of a mummy. The idea here was that, if through any accident the body were destroyed, the soul on its return to earth might avail itself of these substitutes. It was the effort put forth by the artist to make these portrait images and carvings lifelike that contributed to bring early Egyptian sculpture to such a high degree of excellence.

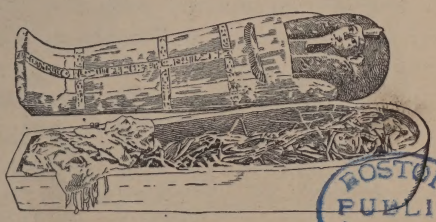


FIG. 16. — MUMMY CASE WITH MUMMY

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The soul had need also of food and drink, and of everything else that the deceased had needed while on earth. Hence all these things were put in the tomb. But as it was only the spirit or double of the things thus set out which the soul could make use of,[8] it came to be believed that a picture or an inexpensive model of these objects in wood or clay would serve just as well as the actual objects themselves. Thus the pictures of different kinds of food and drink supplied the soul with "an unsubstantial yet satisfying repast"; the representation of a vineyard provided

[8] Compare the thought of the savage who breaks the bow or other weapon placed in the grave with the body of its former owner, in order that its spirit may be released.

it with a vineyard in the Osirian land; the picture of a boat made possible a pleasure sail on the celestial Nile.

It was this belief which covered the walls of the Egyptian tombs with those bas-reliefs and paintings which have converted for us these chambers of the dead into picture galleries where the Egypt of the Pharaohs rises again into life before our eyes.

38. The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession. — Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians; king and peasant alike must appear before the dread tribunal of Osiris and render an account of the deeds done in the body. Here the soul sought justification in such declarations as these, which form what

FIG. 17. — THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD. (From a papyrus)
Showing the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the scales of truth

is called the Negative Confession: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any one treacherously"; "I have not slandered any one or made false accusation"; "I have not reviled the face of my father"; "I have not eaten my heart through with envy."[9]

In other declarations of the soul we find a singularly close approach to Christian morality, as for instance in this: "I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him who was athirst; I have clothed the naked with garments."

[9] See Deut. v. 11, 19, 17, 20, 16, 21.

The truth of what the soul thus asserted in its own behalf was tested by the balances of the gods. In one of the scales was placed the heart of the deceased; in the other, a symbol of truth or righteousness. The soul stood by watching the weighing. If the heart were found not light, the soul was welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris. The fate of the unjustified seems to have been annihilation. This judgment scene in the nether world forms the most instructive memorial of old Egypt that has been preserved to us. We here learn what sort of a conscience the Egyptian had developed by the dawn of history; for the confession and the doctrine of a coming judgment date from the earliest period of Egyptian civilization.

39. **Architecture, Sculpture, and Minor Arts.** — At a comparatively early period Egyptian civilization ceased to be progressive. The past was taken as a model, just as it is in China to-day. So what is here said of the arts is, speaking broadly, as true of them in the third millennium before Christ, or even earlier, as at any later period of Egyptian history.

In the building art the ancient Egyptians, in some respects, have never been surpassed. The Memphian pyramids built by the earlier and the Theban temples raised by the later Pharaohs have excited the astonishment and the admiration alike of all the successive generations that have looked upon them.

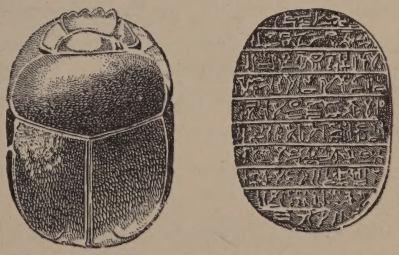

FIG. 18. — A SCARAB AMULET

In the cutting and shaping of enormous blocks of the hardest stone, the Egyptians achieved results which modern stonecutters can scarcely equal. "It is doubtful," says Rawlinson, "whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens"

Egyptian sculpture seems to have grown out of pictorial writing. The figure or character, at first a mere outline drawing, was after a time cut into the rock surface, and next the rock was chiseled away so as to leave the figure in low relief. Sculpture was at its best in the earliest period; that it became imitative, unprogressive, and rigid was due to the influence of religion, the artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, not being allowed to change a single line of the sacred form.

In many of the minor arts the Egyptians attained a surprisingly high degree of excellence. In gem cutting they showed wonderful skill. The sacred scarabæus (beetle) was reproduced with linings so delicate that it is almost certain that magnifying glasses were used in the work.

40. **The Sciences: Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine.** — The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence, the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars, could not but have incited them to the watching and predicting of astronomical movements. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the sidereal year, which they made to consist of 365 days, every fourth year adding one day, making the number for that year 366. This was the calendar that Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day (sec. 387).

The Greeks accounted for the rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by the necessity they were under of reëstablishing each year the boundaries of their fields, — the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success.

The Egyptian physicians relied largely on magic, for every ailment was supposed to be caused by a demon that must be expelled by means of magical rites and incantations. But they also used drugs of various kinds; the characters employed by modern

apothecaries to designate grains and drams are of Egyptian invention.

41. Egypt's Contribution to Civilization. — Egypt, we thus see, made valuable gifts to civilization. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later culture of the peoples of Western Asia, of the Greeks and Romans, and of the nations of modern Europe. "We are the heirs of the civilized past," says Sayce, "and a goodly portion of that civilized past was the creation of ancient Egypt."

Selections from the Sources. — *Records of the Past* (New Series, ed. by Sayce), vol. iii, "The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep." Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* (Second Series), "Anpu and Bata." "The description of Bata is one of the most beautiful character drawings of the past" (Petrie).

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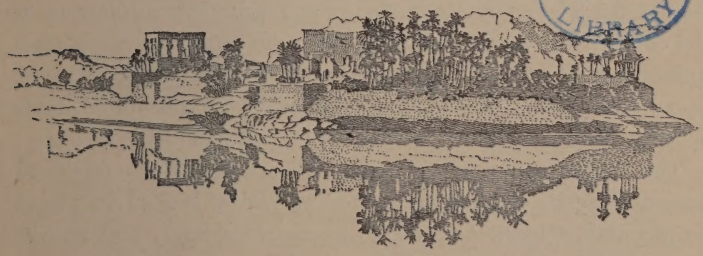

FIG. 19. — PHILÆ, "THE PEARL OF EGYPT"

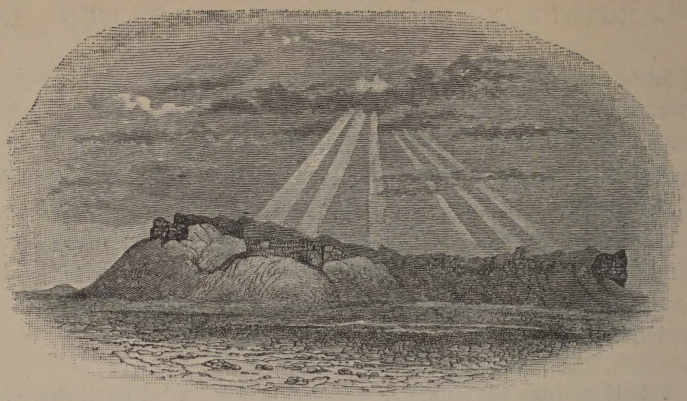

FIG. 20. — THE BABIL MOUND AT BABYLON AS IT APPEARED IN 1811

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY CITY-STATES OF BABYLONIA AND THE OLD BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

(From about 4000 to 1100 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

42. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley; the Upper and the Lower Country. — We must now trace the upspringing of civilization in Babylonia, "the Asian Egypt." As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley,[1] the physical features of the country had a great influence upon the history of its peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this twofold physical division is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history.

The northern part of the valley, the portion that comprised ancient Assyria, consists of undulating plains, broken in places by mountain ridges. This region nourished a hardy and warlike race, and became the seat of a great military empire.

[1] See map, p. 42. The ancient Greeks gave to the land embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates the name of Mesopotamia, which means "the land between the rivers."

The southern part of the valley, the part known as Babylonia or Chaldea, is, like the Delta region of Egypt, an alluvial deposit. The making of new land by the rivers has gone on steadily during historic times. The ruins of one of the ancient seaports of the country (Eridu) lie over a hundred miles inland from the present head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times the land was protected against the river floods, and watered in seasons of drought, by a

FIG. 21. — ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANAL

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stupendous system of dikes and canals, which at the present day, in a ruined and sand-choked condition, cover like a network the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these river flats excited the wonder of the Greek travelers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell the whole truth for fear his veracity may be doubted. It is not strange that tradition should have located here Paradise, that primeval garden "out of the ground of which God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." This favored plain in a remote period of antiquity became the seat of an agricultural, industrial, and

commercial population among which the arts of civilized life found probably their very earliest development.

43. **The Babylonians a Mixed People.** — The original inhabitants of Babylonia are thought by the majority of Assyrian scholars to have belonged to a non-Semitic race, and are generally known as Sumerians, from Sumer, the name of one of the ancient divisions of the country. These people are believed to have laid the basis of civilization in the Euphrates valley.

At a very early time there seem to have come into the country from Arabia immigrants of Semitic race. These foreigners were nomadic in habits, and much less cultured than the Sumerians. Gradually they adopted the arts of the people among whom they had settled, retaining, however, their own speech, which in the course of time superseded that of the original inhabitants. The union of the two races formed the Babylonians of history.

44. **The Age of City-States** (about 4000–2000 B.C.); **Sargon I** (about 2500 B.C.*). — When the light of history first falls upon the Mesopotamian lands, that is about 4000 B.C., it reveals the lower river plain filled with city-states like those which we find later in Greece and in Italy. Each city had its patron god and was ruled by a king. From the old Babylonian libraries (sec. 50) patient scholars are gradually reading the wonderful story of these ancient cities, probably the oldest built by man. The political side of their history may be summarized by saying that for a period of two thousand years these records, as far as known to us, are annals of wars waged for supremacy by one city and its gods against other cities and their gods.

Of all the kings whose names have already been recovered from the monuments we shall here speak only of Sargon I, a Semitic king of Agade, whose reign forms a great landmark in early Babylonian history. He built up a powerful state in Babylonia and extended his rule to the Mediterranean.

Yet not as a warrior but as a patron of letters is Sargon destined to a sure place in history. He caused to be collected

* The dates formerly given (3800 B.C. for Sargon and 2250 for Hammurabi) are now thought by the majority of Assyrian scholars to be too early.

and edited the literature of the early period, and deposited the books in great libraries, which he established or enlarged, — the oldest and most valuable libraries of the ancient world.

45. The Rise of Babylon: Hammurabi founds the Old Babylonian Empire (about 2000 B.C.).— From the remotest times the city-states of Babylonia had for enemies the kings of Elam, a country bordering Babylonia on the east, and of which Susa was the capital. For centuries at a time the Elamite kings held the cities of the plain in a state of more or less complete vassalage. Their dominion was finally broken by a king of Babylon, a city which had been gradually rising into prominence, and which was to give to the whole country the name by which it is best known — Babylonia. The name of this king was Hammurabi (about 2000 B.C.). He united under his rule all the cities of Babylonia, and became the true founder of what is known as the Old Babylonian Empire.

FIG. 22. — IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF SARGON I. (Date about 3800 B.C.)

"Must be ranked among the masterpieces of Oriental engraving" (Maspero)

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Hammurabi has been called the Babylonian Moses, for the reason that he promulgated a code of laws which in some respects is remarkably like the Mosaic code of the Hebrews (sec. 56).

46. The Old Babylonian Empire eclipsed by the Rising Assyrian Empire. — For more than fifteen hundred years after Hammurabi, Babylon continued to be the political and commercial center of an empire of changing dynasties and shifting frontiers. Meanwhile a Semitic power had been slowly developing in the North. This was the Assyrian Empire, the later heart and center of which was the great city of Nineveh. For a long time Assyria was practically a province of the lower kingdom; but in 728 B.C. Babylonia was conquered by an Assyrian king and passed under Assyrian control.

II. Arts and General Culture

47. The Remains of the Babylonian Cities, Palaces, and Temples. — The Babylonian plains are dotted with enormous mounds, often inclosed by vast ramparts of earth. These "heaps" are the remains of the great walled cities, the palaces, and the temples of the ancient Babylonians. The peculiar nature of these ruins arises from the character of the ancient Babylonian edifices and the kind of building material used in their construction.

In the first place, in order to secure for their temples and palaces a firm foundation on the water-soaked land, as well as to lend to them a certain dignity or to render them more easily defended, the Babylonian kings raised their public buildings on enormous platforms of earth or adobe. These structures were often many acres in extent and were raised generally to a height of forty or more feet above the level of the plain.

Upon these immense platforms were built the temples[2] of the gods and the palaces of the kings. The country affording neither timber nor stone, recourse was had to sun-dried bricks as the chief building material, burnt brick being used, in the main, only for the outer casing of the walls. The buildings were one-storied, with thick and heavy walls, and with roofs of huge cedar beams.

In their decay these edifices have sunk down into great heaps of earth, which the storms of centuries have furrowed with deep ravines, giving many of them the appearance of natural ruin-crowned hills, for which in truth some of the earlier visitors to Babylonia mistook them.

48. Excavations and Discoveries. — About the middle of the nineteenth century some mounds of the upper country, near and on the site of ancient Nineveh, were excavated, and the world was astonished to see rising as from the tomb the palaces of the great Assyrian kings (sec. 63). This was the beginning of excavations and discoveries in the Mesopotamian lands which during

[2] A peculiar architectural feature of the temple was an immense *ziggurat* or tower, which consisted of a number of stages or platforms raised one upon another in the form of a great step pyramid.

the past half century have restored the history of long-forgotten empires and given us a new beginning for universal history.

Some of the most important finds in Babylonia were made during the closing years of the nineteenth century by the Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, on the site of the ancient Nippur. The excavation here of the ruins of the great temple of Bel brought to light remains which prove that this city was one of the

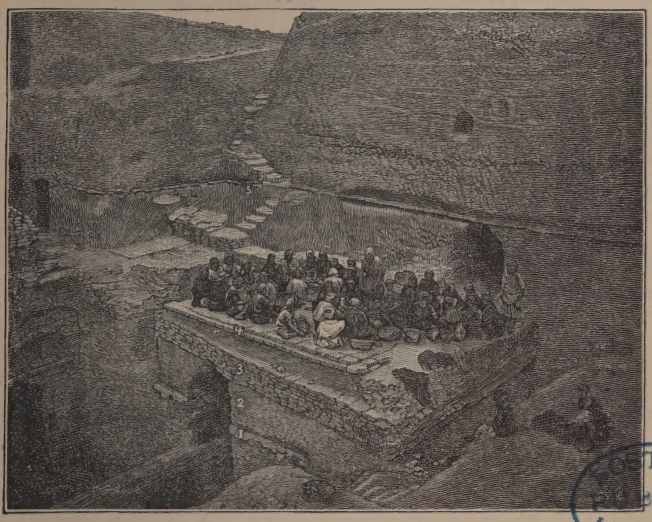

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FIG. 23. — EXCAVATION SHOWING PAVEMENTS IN A COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL AT NIPPUR. (After *Hilprecht*)

The lower pavement, marked "1," was put down by Sargon I and Naram-Sin (about 3800 B.C.), and the upper one, marked "5," by the Assyrian king Asshur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). The pavements are thus separated by a period of over 3000 years

religious centers of the old Babylonian world for more than four thousand years, — a period more than twice as long as that during which Rome has been the religious center of Catholic Christendom.

One of the most valuable things unearthed at Nippur was the temple library. But to appreciate the import of this a word is here necessary concerning the Babylonian system of writing and its decipherment.

49. Cuneiform Writing. — From the earliest period known to us, the Babylonians were in possession of a system of phonetic writing. To this system the term *cuneiform* (from *cuneus*, a

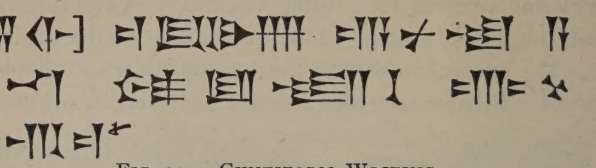

FIG. 24. — CUNEIFORM WRITING

Translation: "Five thousand mighty cedars I spread for its roof"

wedge) has been given on account of its wedge-shaped characters. The signs assumed this peculiar form from being impressed upon soft clay tablets with a triangular writing instrument.

	MEANING	OUTLINE CHARACTER, B. C. 4500	ARCHAIC CUNEIFORM, B. C. 2500	ASSYRIAN, B. C. 700	LATE BABYLONIAN, B. C. 500
1.	The sun				
2.	God, heaven				
3.	Mountain				
4.	Man				
5.	Ox				
6.	Fish				

FIG. 25. — TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CUNEIFORM WRITING. (After *King*)

This system of writing had been developed out of an earlier system of picture writing, as is plainly shown by a comparison of the earlier with the later forms of the characters (Fig. 25). The

Babylonians never developed the system beyond the syllabic stage (sec. 11). They employed a syllabary of between four and five hundred signs.[3]

This mode of writing was in use among the peoples of Western Asia from about 5000 B.C. down to the first century preceding our era. For the first four thousand years and more of this period it was just such an important factor in the civilization of the Semitic world as the Phœnician alphabet (sec. 86) during the last three thousand years has been in the civilization of the Aryan world. It was the chief corner stone of Semitic culture.

50. Books and Libraries. — The writing material of the Babylonians was usually clay tablets, averaging perhaps six inches in length, three in width, and one in thickness. Those holding records of special importance, after having been once written upon and baked, were covered with a thin coating of clay, and then the matter was written in duplicate and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design, the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.

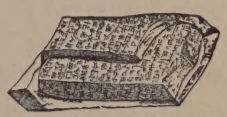

FIG. 26. — CONTRACT TABLET

The outer case has been broken to show the inner version

The tablets were carefully preserved in great public libraries. There was one or more of these collections in each of the chief cities of Babylonia. The temple library found at Nippur contained over thirty thousand tablets.

51. Decipherment of the Cuneiform Writing; Contents of the Libraries. — Just as the key to the Egyptian writing was found by means of bilingual inscriptions, so was the key to the cuneiform script discovered by means of trilingual inscriptions, among which was a very famous one cut by a Persian king on the so-called Behistun Rock (sec. 90). Credit for the decipherment of the difficult writing is divided among several scholars.[4] We will say

[3] The Persians at a much later time borrowed the system and developed it into a purely alphabetic one. Their alphabet consisted of thirty-six characters.

[4] Among these, Grotefend and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

just a word of what the tablets reveal respecting the religion and mythology of the Babylonians, and of the state of the sciences among them.

52. **The Religion.** — At the earliest period made known to us by the native records, we find the pantheon to embrace many local deities (the patron gods of the different cities) and nature gods; but at no period do we find a Supreme God. The most prominent feature from first to last of the popular religion was the belief in spirits, particularly in wicked spirits, and the practice of magic rites and incantations to avert the malign influence of these demons. A second important feature of the religion was what is known as astrology, or the foretelling of events by the aspect of the stars. This side of the religious system was most elaborately and ingeniously developed until the fame of the Chaldean astrologers was spread throughout the ancient world.

Alongside these low beliefs and superstitious practices there existed, however, higher and purer elements. This is best illustrated by the so-called penitential psalms, dating, some of them, from the second millennium B.C., which breathe a spirit like that which pervades the penitential psalms of the Old Testament.[5]

53. **Ideas of the Future Life.** — The beliefs of the Babylonians respecting the other world were in strange contrast to those of the Egyptians. In truth they gave but little thought to the after life; and it is no wonder that they did not like to keep the subject in mind, for they imagined the life after death to be most sad and doleful. The abode of the dead (Arallu), the "dark land," the "land of no return," was a dusky region beneath the earth. Bats flitted about in the dim light; dust was upon the lintels of the barred doors; the souls drowsed in their places; their food was dust and mud.

[5] Here are a few lines of such a psalm:

> O my god who art angry with me, accept my prayer.
> . . . . . .
> May my sins be forgiven, my transgressions be wiped out.
> . . . . . .
> [May] flowing waters of the stream wash me clean.
> Let me be pure like the sheen of gold.

JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 323.

There was no judgment of the dead as among the Egyptians. There was no distinction, in the case of the great multitude,[6] between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down to death.

54. **The Creation Epic, or the Babylonian Genesis.** — In what is called the Creation Epic, which has been recovered in a fragmentary state from the tablets, we have the Babylonian version of the creation of the heavens and the earth by the great god Marduk.

The account of the creation has been an important factor in religious world history. In the hands of Hebrew teachers the story was molded in such a way as to render it a means of moral and religious instruction, and thus was made the starting point of Hebrew religious literature, a literature which was destined to become an important part of the heritage of the younger Aryan nations of the West.

55. **The Epic of Gilgamesh.** — What is known as the Epic of Gilgamesh,[7] the Babylonian Heracles, is doubtless the oldest epic of the race. It held some such place in Babylonian literature and art as the cycle of myths and legends making up the epic of the Trojan War held in the literature and art of the Greeks. Echoes of it reached the Ægean lands and helped to mold the Greek story of Heracles (sec. 117).

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56. **Legislation: the Code of Hammurabi.** — In 1901–1902 the French excavators at Susa, in the ancient Elam, discovered a block of stone upon which was inscribed the code of laws set up by Hammurabi, king of Babylon, in the second millennium B.C. (sec. 45). The supreme interest which attaches to this compilation springs not alone from the circumstance that it is the oldest system of laws known to us, but from the further circumstance that it bears many resemblances to the later Hebrew code.

The code casts a strong side light upon Babylonian life, and thus constitutes one of the most valuable monuments spared to us from the old Semitic world. It defines the rights and duties

[6] There was a sort of Elysium, like that of the Greeks, for men of great deeds and great piety.

[7] The epic is made up of a great variety of material. One of the stories of greatest interest is that of the Deluge.

of husband and wife, master and slave, of merchants, gardeners, tenants, shepherds, — of all the classes which made up the population of the Babylonian Empire. As in the case of the later Hebrew code, the principle of retaliation determined the penalty for injury done another; it was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a limb for a limb.

The owner of a vicious ox which had pushed or gored a man was required to pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the creature and had not blunted its horns (see Ex. xxi. 28–32).

There are also provisions forbidding under severe penalties the harboring of runaway slaves, provisions which read strangely like our own fugitive-slave laws of a half century ago.

For more than two thousand years after its compilation this code of laws was in force in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and even after this lapse of time it was used as a text-book in the schools of the Mesopotamian lands. Probably no other code save the Mosaic or the Justinian (sec. 459) has exerted a greater influence upon human society. "As the oldest body of laws in existence," says an eminent Assyrian scholar, "it marks a great epoch in the world's history, and must henceforth form the starting point for the systematic study of historic jurisprudence."

57. Sciences: Astronomy, the Calendar, and Weights and Measures. — In astronomy the Babylonians made substantial progress. Their knowledge of the heavens came about both from their interest as astrologers in the stars, and from their needs as navigators of the Persian Gulf. They early divided the zodiac into twelve signs and named the zodiacal constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses of the sun and moon; they invented the sundial to tell off the hours of sunlight and the water clock to measure the hours of darkness; they divided the year into twelve months, the day and night into hours, and the hours into minutes, and devised the week of seven days, ending with a day of rest called *Sabattu*. Through Israel this institution of the week with a sacred rest day became the heritage of the later world of culture.

The duodecimal system in numbers was the invention of the Babylonians, and it is from them that the system has come to us. They invented also measures of length, weight, and capacity. It was from them that all the peoples of antiquity derived their systems of weight and measure. Aside from letters, these are perhaps the most indispensable agents in the life of a people after they have risen above the lowest levels of barbarism.

Selections from the Sources. — Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (selected translations), pp. 408–413, "Ishtar's Descent to Hades." This is one of the choicest pieces of Babylonian literature. Sayce's *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, pp. 313–319, "The Babylonian Account of the Deluge." *The Code of Hammurabi*, in either the Johns or the Harper translation. "The Code of Hammurabi is one of the most important monuments of the human race" (Johns).

Secondary Works. — MASPERO, G., *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. vii–ix, and *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. i. RAWLINSON, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (first part). ROGERS, R. W., *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. RAGOZIN, Z. A., *The Story of Chaldea*. HOMMEL, F., *The Civilization of the East*. PETERS, J. P., *Nippur*, 2 vols. JASTROW, M., *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. KING, L. W., *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. DELITZSCH, F., *Babel and Bible*. SAYCE, A. H., *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2 vols. SCHMIDT, N., *Outlines of a History of Babylonia and Assyria*, with its carefully selected lists of authoritative works, will be of special service to the advanced student.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Excavations in Babylonia. 2. The Babylonian libraries. 3. Babylonian magic. 4. The penitential psalms. 5. Trade and commerce.

FIG. 27. — AN ASSYRIAN WINGED BULL

CHAPTER V

THE ASSYRIAN AND THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

I. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE (TO 606 B.C.)

58. Introductory. — The story of Assyria is in the main a story of the Assyrian kings. To relate this story in detail would involve endless repetition of the royal records of military raids and campaigns in all the countries of Western Asia. We shall therefore speak of only two or three of those kings who have a place among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

59. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.). — Sargon II was a great conqueror. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria and carried away the most influential classes of the "Ten Tribes" of Israel into captivity (sec. 77). The greater portion of the captives were scattered among the towns of Media, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of that region.

Sargon was also a famous builder. Near the foot of the Persian hills he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, the site of which is now preserved by the vast mounds of Khorsabad (sec. 63).

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60. Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.). — To Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, we must accord the first place of renown among the Assyrian kings. His name, connected as it is with the history of Jerusalem and with the wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon. His reign was filled with military expeditions and marked by great building enterprises at Nineveh. Respecting the decoration of this capital, one of his inscriptions says: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

61. Asshur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). — This king, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of art and literature. During his reign Assyria enjoyed her Golden Age. He caused a great library to be collected at Nineveh, in which was gathered whatever was of greatest value in the literature of the southern land.

But Asshur-bani-pal was also a great warrior. The scenes of his numerous sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

62. The Fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). — Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. For nearly or quite six centuries the Ninevite kings had now lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all Western Asia that during this time had not, in the language of the royal inscriptions, "borne the heavy yoke of their lordship"; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments, or tasted the bitterness of enforced exile.

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But Nineveh was finally taken and sacked by the Medes and Babylonians, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks in his memorable retreat (sec. 208) passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins, of which he could not even learn the name.

63. Assyrian Excavations and Discoveries. — In Assyria there are many mounds like those in Babylonia. These mark the sites of the old Assyrian cities; for though stone in this upper country is abundant, the Assyrians, being colonists from the lower country, continued to use in the main sun-dried bricks in the construction of their buildings. Stone when employed was used mainly for decorative purposes and for the foundation of walls. Hence in

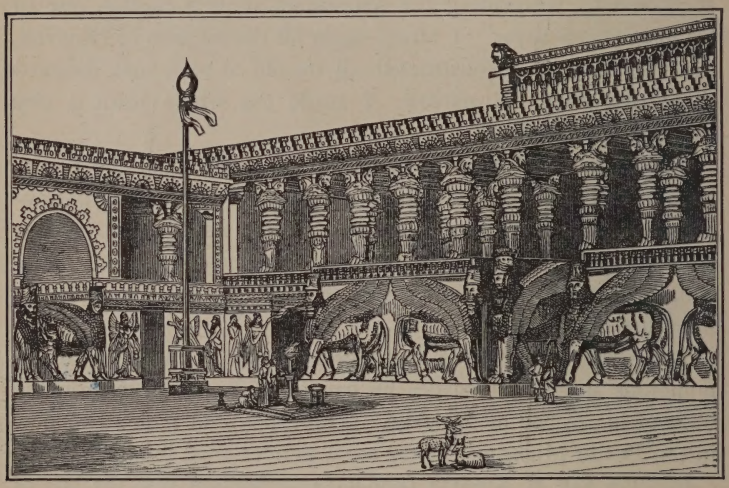

FIG. 28. — RESTORATION OF A COURT IN SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD. (After *Fergusson*)

their decay the Assyrian edifices have left just such earth mounds as those which form the tombs of the old Babylonian cities and temples.

In 1843–1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul on the Tigris, excavated the mound at Khorsabad (Dur Sarrukin), and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the palace of Sargon II. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the Museum of the Louvre, in Paris. In 1845–1851 Layard disentombed the palace of Sennacherib and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah, and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search.

64. The Royal Library at Nineveh. — Within the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Nineveh was discovered what is known as the Royal Library, from which over twenty thousand tablets were taken. The library was open to the public, for an inscription says, "I [Asshur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

The greater part of the tablets were copies of older Babylonian works; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Babylonians. All the old libraries of the lower country were ransacked by the agents of Asshur-bani-pal, and copies of "the old masters"

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FIG. 29. — ASSYRIANS FLAYING PRISONERS ALIVE. (From a bas-relief.)

made for the new collection at Nineveh. In this way was preserved in duplicate the best part of the early Babylonian literature.

65. Cruelty of the Assyrians. — The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia." They were a proud, warlike, and cruel race. The sculptured marbles taken from the palaces exhibit the cruel tortures inflicted upon prisoners; kings are being led before their conqueror with hooks thrust through their lips; other prisoners are being flayed alive; the eyes of some are being bored out with the point of a spear; and still others are having their tongues torn out. One royal inscription, which is a fair specimen of many others, runs as follows: "Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a tower. I exposed

their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burned in the flames."

66. Royal Sports. — The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as the cities he has captured. The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in the favorite royal sport. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well as less

FIG. 30. — LION HUNT. (From Nineveh)

dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

67. Services rendered Civilization by Assyria. — Assyria did a work like that done by Rome at a later time. Just as Rome welded all the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a great empire, and then throughout her vast domains scattered the seeds of the civilization which she had borrowed from vanquished Greece, so did Assyria weld into a great empire the innumerable petty warring states and tribes of Western Asia, and then throughout her extended dominions spread the civilization which she had borrowed in a body from the conquered Babylonians.

In thus spreading abroad the best civilization of the Semitic world, Assyria caused it to come into contact with the as yet undeveloped culture of the Aryan-Greek world of the West. In this way the civilization of Greece and, through her, the civilization of all the Western world was greatly enriched by gifts from the early culture of the Mesopotamian lands.

II. The Chaldean Empire (625–538 B.C.)

68. Babylon becomes again a Great Power. — Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.) was the founder of what is known as the Chaldean or New Babylonian Empire. At first a vassal king, when troubles began to thicken about the Assyrian court, he revolted and became independent. Later he entered into an alliance with the Median king against his former suzerain (sec. 62). Through the overthrow of Nineveh and the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the Babylonian kingdom received large accessions of territory. For a short time thereafter Babylon filled a great place in history.

69. Nebuchadnezzar II (605–561 B.C.). — Nabopolassar was followed by his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose renown filled the ancient world. One important event of his reign was the taking of the rebellious city of Jerusalem (sec. 78). The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the building itself was given to the flames; a part of the people were also carried away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B.C.).

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Nebuchadnezzar sought to rival even the Pharaohs in the execution of immense works requiring a vast expenditure of human labor. Among his works were the Great Palace in the royal quarter of Babylon, the celebrated Hanging Gardens,[1] the quays along the Euphrates, and the city walls. The gardens and the walls were reckoned among the wonders of the ancient world.

Especially zealous was Nebuchadnezzar in the erection and restoration of the shrines of the gods. "Like dear life," runs one of the inscriptions, "love I the building of their lodging places." He dwells with fondness on all the details of the work, and tells how he ornamented the panelings of the shrines with precious stones, roofed them with huge beams of cedar overlaid

[1] The Hanging Gardens were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The gardens were probably built somewhat in the form of the tower temples, the successive stages being covered with earth and beautified with plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces towards the sky.

with gold and silver, and decorated the gates with plates of bronze, making the sacred abodes as "bright as the stars of heaven."

70. The Fall of Babylon (538 B.C.). — The glory of the New Babylonian Empire passed away with Nebuchadnezzar. To the east of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which at the time now reached by us had become a great imperial power. At the head of this new empire was Cyrus, a strong, energetic, and ambitious sovereign (sec. 88). Coming into collision with the Babylonian king Nabonidus he defeated his army in the open field, and the gates of the strongly fortified capital Babylon were without further resistance thrown open to the Persians.

With the fall of Babylon the scepter of dominion, borne so long by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined from this time forward to shape the main course of events and control the affairs of civilization.

Selections from the Sources. — *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. v, pp. 120–128, "The Nimrud Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III," on military and building operations; and vol. iv, pp. 38–52, "Inscription on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser II," shows the cruelty of Assyrian warfare.

Secondary Works. — MASPERO, G., *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. vi; *The Passing of the Empires*, chaps. i–v; and *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chaps. xi–xx. RAWLINSON, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (last part). LAYARD, A. H., *Nineveh and its Remains*. PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2 vols. ROGERS, R. W., *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii. RAGOZIN, Z. A., *The Story of Assyria*. SAYCE, A. H., *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Part II.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Layard's excavations and discoveries. 2. Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. 3. The relation of Assyrian civilization to the Babylonian. 4. The Assyrian government.

CHAPTER VI

THE HEBREWS

71. The Patriarchal Age. — The history of the Hebrews, as narrated in their sacred books, begins with the departure of the patriarch Abraham out of "Ur of the Chaldees." The stories of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, of the sojourn and the oppression of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, of the Exodus under the leadership of the great legislator Moses, of the conquest of Canaan by his successor Joshua, — all these wonderful stories are told in the old Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made them the familiar possession of childhood.

72. The Age of the Judges (ending about 1050 B.C.). — A long period of anarchy and dissension followed the conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews. During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages. These popular leaders were called Judges because they usually exercised judicial functions, acting as arbiters between the different tribes, as well as between man and man. The last of the Judges was Samuel.

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73. Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (about 1050 B.C.). — During the period of the Judges the tribes of Israel were united by no central government. But the common dangers to which they were exposed from the attacks of the half-subdued Canaanitish tribes, and the example of the nations about them, led the people finally to begin to think of the advantages of union and of kingly rule. The hitherto loose confederation was changed into a kingdom, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin was made king of the new monarchy (about 1050 B.C.).

74. **The Reign of David** (about 1025–993 B.C.). — Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, assumed the scepter. He consolidated the kingdom and waged wars of extermination against the troublesome neighboring tribes.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. His lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17–27) is regarded as one of the noblest specimens of elegiac poetry that have come down from Hebrew antiquity. Such was his fame that the authorship of a large number of hymns written in a later age was ascribed to him.

75. **The Reign of Solomon** (about 993–953 B.C.). — David was followed by his son Solomon. The son did not possess the father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of art, commerce, and learning. He maintained a magnificent court, and has lived in tradition as the wisest king of the East. He erected at Jerusalem a splendid temple planned by his father David. King Hiram of Tyre, who was a close friend of the Hebrew monarch, aided him in this undertaking by supplying him with the celebrated cedar of Lebanon, and with Tyrian architects. The dedication ceremonies of the building were most impressive (1 Kings viii). Thenceforth this temple was the center of the Jewish worship and of the national life.

76. **The Division of the Kingdom** (about 953 B.C.). — The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings he had laid oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes. He refused. Straightway all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up to the north of Jerusalem a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, of which Samaria afterwards became the capital, was known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have offered successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land became an easy prey to the spoiler.

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77. The Kingdom of Israel (953?–722 B.C.). — The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained its existence for about two hundred years. The little state was at last overwhelmed by the Assyrian power. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as already narrated (sec. 59), was captured by Sargon, king of Nineveh, and the flower of the people were carried away into captivity. The gaps thus made in the population of Samaria were filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the Israelites that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

78. The Kingdom of Judah (953?–586 B.C.). — This little kingdom maintained an independent existence for over three centuries, but upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings. The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem and carried away a large part of the people into captivity at Babylon (sec. 69). This event virtually ended the separate political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judea constituted simply a province of the empires which successively held sway over the regions of Western Asia, with, however, just one flicker of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ.

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It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus (sec. 70), that monarch permitted the exiles to return to Jerusalem and restore their temple. Jerusalem thus became again the center of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred center of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans, while vast numbers of the inhabitants were slain and the remnant driven into exile to different lands (sec. 405).

79. Hebrew Literature. — The literature of the Hebrews is a religious one; for literature with them was in the main merely

a means of inculcating religious truth or awakening devotional feeling. This unique literature is contained in sacred books known as the *Old* or *Hebrew Testament.* In these ancient writings, patriarchal traditions, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the migrations, the deliverances, the calamities, — all the events and religious experiences making up the checkered life of the people of Israel.

Out of the *Old* arose the *New Testament,* which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature; for although written in the Greek language and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, nevertheless it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the *Bible* (the Book), it remains to mention especially the *Apocrypha,* embracing a number of books that were composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit, and which show traces of the influence of Persian and Greek thought.

Neither must we fail to mention the *Talmud,* a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book; the writings of Philo, an illustrious Alexandrian philosopher (born about 25 B.C.); and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish War* by the historian Josephus (born A.D. 37).

80. **Hebrew Religion and Morality.** — The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing; their religion forbade their making "graven images." Their mission was to make known the idea of God as a being holy and just and compassionate and loving, — as the Universal Father whose care is over not one people alone but over all peoples and all races, — and to teach men that what he requires of them is that they shall do justice and practice righteousness.

This idea of God and his character was the best element in the bequest which the ancient Hebrews made to the younger Aryan

world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the pre-eminent place they hold in the history of humanity.

81. Ideas of the Future Life. — The earliest Hebrew conception of the future life was like that of the Babylonians. Sheol was a vague and shadowy region beneath the earth, a sad and dismal place. The small and the great were there. There was no distinction even between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down into the "pit." The good man was thought to receive his reward in long life and prosperity here on earth.

As time passed, the Hebrews exchanged this gloomy conception of the other life for one more like that of old Egypt, so that it was by them that the doctrine of immortality and of a coming judgment was spread abroad in the Western world.

Selection from the Sources. — The *Old Testament*, 1 Kings v–viii, the building and the dedication by Solomon of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Secondary Works. — SAYCE, A. H., *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*. KENT, C. F., *A History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols. RENAN, E., *History of the People of Israel*, 4 vols. CORNILL, C. H., *History of the People of Israel*. BOUGHTON, W., *History of Ancient Peoples*, pp. 345–427. HILPRECHT, H. V., *Recent Research in Bible Lands*; consult Table of Contents. BALL, A. J., *Light from the East*. DUFF, A., *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*. The special student will of course consult MCCURDY, J. F., *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 3 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Influence of early Babylonian culture on Israel. 2. The Exile in Babylon and its influence upon the development of the Hebrew religion. 3. Earlier Hebrew ideas of the future life. 4. Hebrew laws respecting usury, the land, and the bondsman.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHŒNICIANS

82. The Land and the People. — Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken seacoast lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the ranges of Mount Lebanon.[1] One of the most noted productions of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The "cedars of Lebanon" hold a prominent place both in the history and in the poetry of the East.

Another celebrated product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shellfish secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

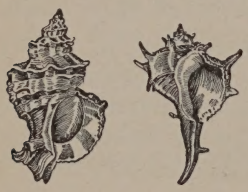

FIG. 31. — SPECIES OF THE MUREX. (After *Maspero*)

The mollusks which secrete the famous purple dye of the ancient Tyrians

The Phœnicians were of Semitic race. Their ancestors lived in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. From their seats in that region they migrated westward, like the ancestors of the Hebrews, and reached the Mediterranean before the light of history had fallen upon its shores.

83. Tyre and Sidon. — The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted merely a sort of league or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the leadership of Tyre or of Sidon, the two chief cities. The place of supremacy in the confederation was at first held by Sidon, but later by Tyre.

[1] In the study of this chapter, the maps which will be found at pp. 50 and 99 should be used.

From the eleventh to the fourth century B.C. Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia. During this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread the fame of the little island capital throughout the world. She was queen and mistress of the Mediterranean.

During all the last centuries of their existence the Phœnician cities were, most of the time, tributary to one or another of the great monarchies about them. They acknowledged in turn the suzerainty of the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian kings. Alexander the Great after a memorable siege captured the city of Tyre and reduced it to ruins (332 B.C.). She recovered in a measure from this blow, but never regained the place she had previously held in the world. The larger part of the site of the once great city is now "bare as the top of a rock," — a place where the fishermen that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

84. **Phœnician Commerce.** — When we catch our first glimpse of the Eastern Mediterranean, about 1500 B.C., it is dotted with the sails of Phœnician navigators. It is natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them out from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise, while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships.

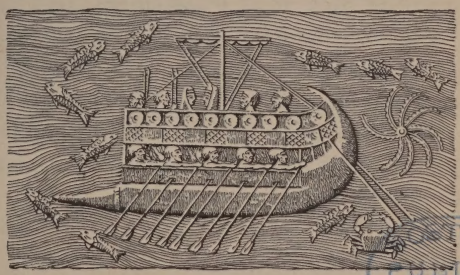

FIG. 32. — PHŒNICIAN GALLEY. (From an Assyrian sculpture)

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The Phœnicians, indeed, seem to have been the first navigators of the Great Sea who pushed out boldly from the shore and made

voyages out of sight of land. It is believed that they were the first to steer their ships at night by the Polar Star, since the Greeks called this the Phœnician Star.

One of the earliest centers of activity of the Phœnician traders was the Ægean Sea. Here they exchanged wares with the natives, searched the seas for the purple-yielding mollusks, and mined the hills for gold. Herodotus avers that a whole mountain on one of the islands was turned upside down by them in their search for ores.

Towards the close of the tenth or the ninth century B.C. the jealousy of the Greek city-states, now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean against the Phœnician adventurers. They then pushed out into the Western Mediterranean. One chief object of their quest here was tin, which was in great demand on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze. The precious metal was first supplied by the mines opened in the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. Later the bold Phœnician sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those stormy seas the tin gathered in the mines of Britain.[2]

85. **Phœnician Colonies.** — Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading posts. The sites chosen were generally islands or promontories easily defended, and visible from afar to approaching ships.

Settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and on other islands of the Ægean Sea, and probably even in Greece itself.

2 From the mother city Tyre and from all her important colonies and trading posts radiated long routes of land travel by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po), in Italy; while the tin of the British Isles was, at first, brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on into the heart of Central Asia.

The shores of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were fringed with Phœnician colonies; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.

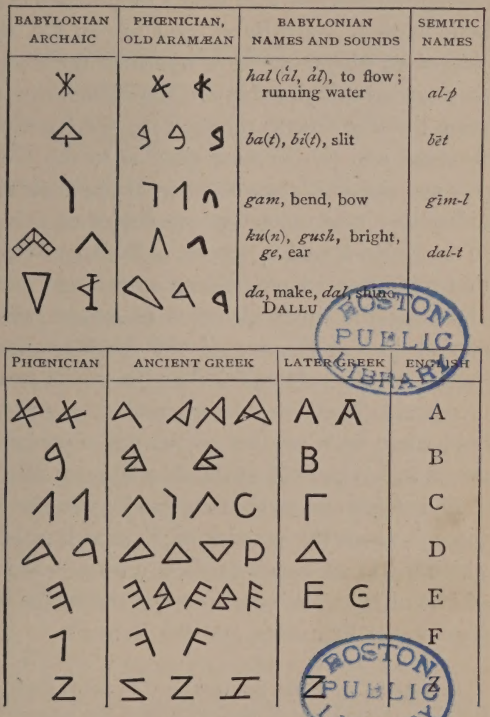

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FIG. 33. — TABLE SHOWING (1) POSSIBLE DERIVATION OF THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET FROM CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS (after *Ball*); AND (2) DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS FROM THE PHŒNICIAN

86. Arts disseminated by the Phœnicians; the Alphabet. — Commerce has been called the path-breaker of civilization. Certainly it was such in antiquity when the Phœnician traders carried in their ships to every Mediterranean land the wares of the workshops of Tyre and Sidon, and along with these material products carried also the seeds of culture from the ancient lands of Egypt and Babylonia. In truth we can scarcely overrate the influence of Phœnician maritime enterprise upon the distribution of the arts and the spread of culture among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. "Egypt

and Assyria," says Lenormant, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Phœnicians were its missionaries."

Most fruitful of all the arts which the Phœnicians introduced among the peoples with whom they traded was the art of alphabetic writing. As early at least as 900 B.C. they were in possession of an alphabet. Now wherever the Phœnician traders went they carried this alphabet as "one of their exports." It was through them that the Greeks received it; the Greeks passed it on to the Romans, and the Romans gave it to the German folk. In this way our alphabet came to us from the ancient East. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gift of the alphabet to the Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe. Without it their civilization could never have become so rich and progressive as it did.

Among the other elements of culture which the Phœnicians carried to the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, the most important, after alphabetical writing, were systems of weights and measures. These are indispensable agents of civilization, and hold some such relation to the development of trade and commerce as letters hold to the development of the intellectual life.

Phœnician commercial enterprise was also one of the agencies through which the peoples of Europe learned the use of bronze, which marks an epoch in their growing culture. Bronze articles of Phœnician workmanship are found in the earliest tombs of the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Bible*, Ezek. xxvii. A striking portrayal by the prophet of the commerce, the trade relations, and the wealth of Tyre. *The Voyage of Hanno*, a record of a Phœnician exploring expedition down the western coast of Africa. A translation of this celebrated record will be found in Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 389–392.

Secondary Works. — RAWLINSON, G., *History of Phœnicia* and *The Story of Phœnicia*. KENRICK, J., *Phœnicia;* old (1855), but still valuable. LENORMANT and CHEVALLIER, *Ancient History of the East*, vol. ii. Consult Table of Contents. SAYCE, A. H., *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chap. iii. LIBBEY, W., and HOSKINS, F. E., *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 2 vols. Petra was the chief station on the great caravan route across the desert from Babylonia to Gaza and the cities of Phœnicia.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The trade routes of the Phœnicians. 2. The Phœnicians and the alphabet. 3. The Tyrian purple dye.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

(558–330 B.C.)

I. Political History

87. Beginning of the Medo-Persian Power.— In remote times some Aryan tribes, separating from the other members of the Aryan family, sought new abodes on the plateau of Iran. The tribes that settled in the south became known as the Persians, while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes. The names of the two peoples were always very closely associated, as in the familiar legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

The Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares (625–585 B.C.) was their first prominent leader and king. It was this king who, aided by the Babylonians, overthrew the last king of Nineveh and destroyed that capital (sec. 70). The destruction of the Assyrian power resulted in the speedy extension of the frontiers of the new Median Empire to the river Halys in Asia Minor.

88. Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.) **founds a World Empire.** — The leadership of the Median chieftains was of short duration. A certain Cyrus, king of Anshan, in Elam, overthrew their power, assumed the headship of both Medes and Persians, and soon built up an empire more extended, so far as we know, than any established before his time.

After the conquest of Media, Cyrus rounded out his empire by the conquest of Lydia and Babylonia. Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It embraced two rich river valleys, — the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster, — which, from the mountains inland, slope gently to the island-dotted Ægean. The Pactolus, and other tributaries of the streams we

have named, rolled down "golden sands," while the mountains were rich in the precious metals. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. The capital of the country was Sardis.

The Lydian throne was at this time held by Crœsus (560–546 B.C.), the last and most renowned of his race. The tribute Crœsus collected from the Greek cities which he had subjugated and the revenue he derived from his gold mines rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb "rich as Crœsus."

It was this king who, alarmed at the growth of the Persian power, threw down the gage of battle to Cyrus. Cyrus defeated the Lydians in the open field, and after a short siege captured Sardis. Lydia now became a part of the Persian Empire (546 B.C.). This war between Crœsus and Cyrus derives special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian Empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to a memorable struggle between Greece and Persia, the incidents of which we shall narrate in a later chapter.

The fall of Lydia was followed by that of Babylon, as has been already related as part of the story of the Chaldean Empire (sec. 70). Cyrus had now rounded out his dominions.

Notwithstanding his seeming love for war and conquest, Cyrus possessed a kindly and generous disposition. Almost universal testimony has ascribed to him the purest and most beneficent character of any Eastern monarch.

89. **Reign of Cambyses** (529–522 B.C.). — Cyrus was followed by his son Cambyses. With far less ability than his father for their execution, Cambyses conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. He determined to add the country of Africa to his vast inheritance. Upon some slight pretext he invaded Egypt, captured Memphis, and ascended the Nile to Thebes. From here he sent an army of fifty thousand men to take possession of the oasis of Ammon[1] in the Libyan desert. Of the vast

[1] This oasis was to serve as a basis of operations against Carthage, which Cambyses was planning to attack by way of the desert.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
under Darius I
about 500 B. C.
Greek Colonies in Asia Minor
Persian Empire
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Persian Gulf
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
Ister (Danube)
THRACE
MACEDONIA
GREECE
Byzantium
Bosporus
Hellespont
Troy
Gordium
Halys
Comana
ROYAL HIGHWAY
LYDIA
Hermus R.
Sardis
Ephesus
Pactolus R.
Meander R.
Miletus
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
ROYAL Highway
CILICIA
Carchemish
Cyprus
Arbela
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
HYRCANIA
Susia
PARTHIA
Ecbatana
Plateau of Iran
ARIANA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
Oxus
Euphrates
MESOPOTAMIA
Tadmor (Palmyra)
SYRIA
Damascus
Jerusalem
Tigris
Babylon
BABYLONIA
SUSIANA
Susa
ELAM
ANSHAN
Pasargadæ
Carmana
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
PUNJAB
Indus
Memphis
Petra
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GEDROSIA
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host not a man returned from the expedition. It is thought that the army was overwhelmed and buried by one of those fatal storms, called simoons, that so frequently sweep over those dreary wastes of sand.

After a short, unsatisfactory stay in Egypt, Cambyses set out on his return to Persia. While on his way home, news was brought to him that a usurper had seized the throne. Cast down by this intelligence, Cambyses in despair took his own life.

90. Reign of Darius I (521–484 B.C.). — The Persian nobles soon rescued the scepter from the grasp of the usurper, and their leader, Darius, took the throne. With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, the new king gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built splendid structures at Persepolis; reformed the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire"; established post roads; and upon the great Behistun Rock, a lofty, smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed a record of all he had done.

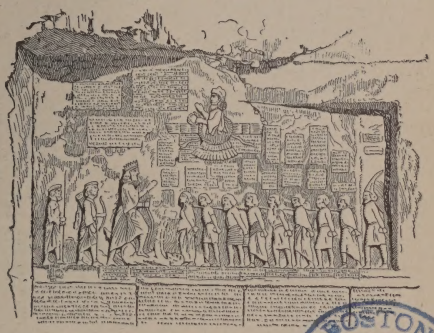

FIG. 34. — INSURGENT CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS
(From the Behistun Rock)

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And now the Great King, lord of Western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. He determined to extend the frontiers of his empire into India and Europe alike.

At one blow Darius brought the region of Northwestern India known as the Punjab under his authority, and thus by a single effort pushed out the eastern boundary of his empire so that it included one of the richest countries of Asia.

Two campaigns in Europe followed. The second brought Darius into contact with the Greeks, of whom we shall soon hear much. How the armaments of the Great King fared at the hands of this freedom-loving people, who now appear for the first time as prominent actors in large world affairs, will be told when we come to narrate the history of Greece. We need here simply note the result, — the decisive defeat of the Persians at Marathon (sec. 173). In the midst of preparations for another attempt upon Greece, Darius suddenly died, in the year 484 B.C.

91. **Reign of Xerxes I** (484–464 B.C.). — The successor of Darius, his son Xerxes, resolved to carry into execution his father's plans of conquest in Europe. At the head of an immense army he crossed the Hellespont and invaded Greece. But in the naval battle of Salamis (sec. 181) his fleet was cut to pieces by the Grecian ships, and the king made a precipitate retreat into Asia. He finally fell a victim to palace intrigue.

92. **End of the Persian Empire.** — The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. In the year 334 B.C. Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, led a small army of Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont intent upon the conquest of Asia. The story of the establishment by him of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian Empire properly belongs to Grecian history, and will be related at a later stage of our narrative.

II. Government, Religion, and Arts

93. **The Government.** — Before the reign of Darius I the government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the great empires that had preceded it, save the Assyrian in a measure and for a short space of time; that is to say, it consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, merely paying tribute and homage and furnishing war contingents to the Great King.

Darius converted this primitive type of government into what is known as the *satrapal*, a form represented to-day by the

Turkish Empire. The entire kingdom was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue.

There were provisions in the system whereby the king might be apprised of the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which the practically sovereign states making up the empire under the old system could plan and execute revolt was removed.

94. Literature and Religion: Zoroastrianism. — The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zend-Avesta*. The religious system it teaches is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its supposed founder. This great reformer and teacher is believed to have lived and taught about six centuries before our era.

Zoroastrianism was a system of belief known as dualism. Opposed to the "good spirit," Ormazd (Ahura Mazda), there was a "dark spirit," Ahriman (Angro-Mainyus), who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ormazd by creating all evil things, — storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage, but in the near future Ormazd would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ormazd by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice in his own bosom, to reclaim the earth from barrenness, and to kill all noxious animals — frogs, toads, snakes, lizards — which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the priests armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime."

95. Architecture. — In imitation of the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates, the Persian kings raised their palaces upon lofty terraces or platforms. But upon the table-lands they used stone

instead of brick, and at Persepolis built for the substruction of their palaces an immense platform of massive masonry, which, with its sculptured stairways, is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders. This terrace, which is uninjured by the twenty-three hundred years that have passed since its

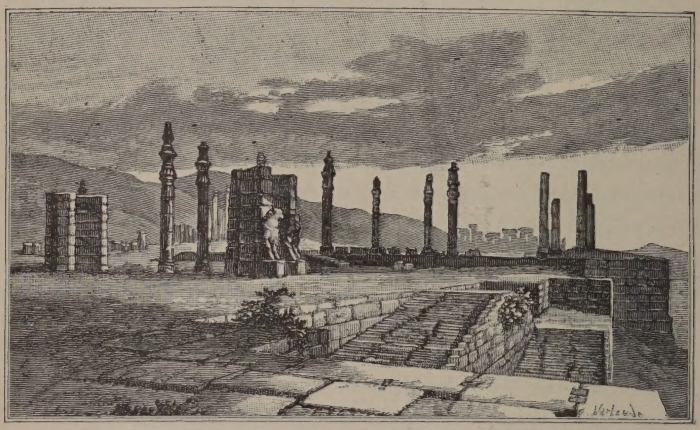

FIG. 35. — THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

erection, has been pronounced by competent judges the finest work of the kind that the ancient or even the modern world can boast. Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the residences of several of the Persian monarchs.

Selections from the Sources. — HERODOTUS, i. 46–55 and 71–91, on Cyrus and Crœsus. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 174–187, "The Large Inscription of Darius from Behistun."

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CHAPTER IX

INDIA AND CHINA

I. India

96. The Aryan Invasion. — At the time of the great Aryan dispersion (sec. 17, n. 4), some Aryan bands, journeying from the northwest, settled first the plains of the Indus and then occupied the valley of the Ganges. They reached the banks of the latter river as early probably as 1500 B.C. These fair-skinned invaders found the land occupied by a dark-skinned, non-Aryan race, whom they either reduced to serfdom or drove out of the great river valleys into the mountains and the half-desert plains of the peninsula. In the course of time the conquered peoples, who doubtless formed the great majority of the population, adopted the language and the religion of the invaders. "They became Aryans in all things save in descent."[1]

97. The Development of the System of Castes. — The conflict and mingling of races in Northern India caused the population to become divided into four "social grades" or hereditary classes, based on color. These were (1) the nobles or warriors; (2) the Brahmans or priests;[2] (3) the peasants and traders; and (4) the Sudras. The last were of non-Aryan descent. Below these several grades were the Pariahs or outcasts, the lowest and most despised of the native races. The marked characteristics of this graded society were that intermarriage between the classes was forbidden, and that the members of different classes must not eat together or come into personal contact.

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The development of this system, which is known as the system of castes, is one of the most important facts in the history of

[1] The tribes of Southern India, known as Dravidians, retained their native speech. Over 54,000,000 of the present population of India are non-Aryan in language.

[2] At a later period the Brahmans arrogated to themselves the highest rank.

India. The system, however, has undergone great modification in the lapse of ages, and is now less rigid than in earlier times. At the present day it rests largely on an industrial basis, the members of every trade and occupation forming a distinct caste. The number of castes is now about two thousand.

98. **The Vedas and the Vedic Religion.** — The most important of the sacred books of the Hindus are called the *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanskrit language, which is the oldest form of Aryan speech preserved to us. The early religion of the Indian Aryans was a worship of the powers of nature. As this system characterized the period when the oldest Vedic hymns were composed, it is known as the Vedic religion.

99. **Brahmanism and the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls.** — As time passed this nature worship of the Vedic period developed into a form of religion known as Brahmanism. It is so named from Brahma, which is the Hindu name for the Supreme Being. Below Brahma there are many gods.

A chief doctrine of Brahmanism is that of rebirth. According to this teaching the good man is at death reborn into some higher caste, while the evil man is reborn into a lower caste, or perhaps his soul enters some unclean animal. This doctrine of rebirth is known as the Transmigration of Souls.

100. **Buddhism.** — In the fifth century before our era a great teacher and reformer named Gautama (about 557–477 B.C.), but better known as Buddha, that is the Enlightened, arose in India. He was born a prince, but legend represents him as being so touched by the universal misery of mankind that he voluntarily abandoned the luxury of his home and spent his life in seeking out and making known to men a new and better way of salvation. His creed was very simple. What he taught the people was that they should seek salvation not through the observance of religious rites and ceremonies but through honesty and purity of heart, through charity and tenderness and compassion toward all creatures that have life.

Buddhism gradually gained ascendancy over Brahmanism; but after some centuries the Brahmans regained their power, and by

the eighth century after Christ the faith of Buddha had died out or had been crowded out of almost every part of India.[3]

But Buddhism, like Christianity, has a profound missionary spirit, and during the very period when India was being lost the missionaries of the reformed creed were spreading the teachings of their master among the peoples of all the countries of Eastern Asia, so that to-day Buddhism is the religion of almost one third of the human race. Buddha has probably nearly as many followers as both Christ and Mohammed together.

II. China

101. General Remarks. — China was the cradle of a very old civilization, older perhaps than that of any other lands save Egypt and Babylonia; yet Chinese affairs have not until recently exercised any direct influence upon the general current of history. All through the later ancient and mediæval times the country lay, vague and mysterious, in the haze of the world's horizon. During the Middle Ages the land was known to Europe under the name of Cathay.

The government of China from a remote period has been a parental monarchy. The emperor is the father of his people. But though an absolute prince, he dare not rule tyrannically; he must rule justly and in accordance with the ancient customs.

102. Chinese Writing. — It is nearly certain that the art of phonetic writing was known among the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. The system employed is curiously cumbrous. In the absence of an alphabet, each word of the language is represented upon the written page by means of a symbol, or combination of symbols; this, of course, requires that there be as many symbols or characters as there are words in the language. The number sanctioned by good use is about twenty-five thousand; but counting obsolete signs, the number amounts to over fifty thousand. A knowledge

[3] Among the customs introduced or revived by the Brahmans during this period was the rite of suttee, or the voluntary burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband.

of five or six thousand characters, however, enables one to read and write without difficulty. The nature of the signs shows conclusively that the Chinese system of writing, like that of all others with which we are acquainted, was at first pure picture writing (sec. 11). Time and use have worn the pictorial symbols to their present form. This Chinese system of representing thought, cumbrous and inconvenient as it is, is employed at the present time by one third of mankind.

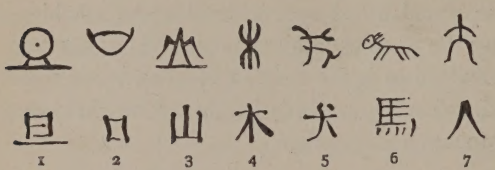

FIG. 36. — SHOWING THE DERIVATION OF MODERN CHINESE CHARACTERS FROM EARLIER PICTORIAL WRITING.[4] (From *Deniker*)

Printing from blocks was practiced in China as early as the sixth century of our era, and printing from movable types as early as the tenth or eleventh century, — that is to say, about four hundred years before the same art was invented in Europe (sec. 678).

103. The Teachers Confucius and Mencius. — The great teacher of the Chinese was Confucius (551–478 B.C.). He was not a prophet or revealer; he laid no claims to a supernatural knowledge of God or of the hereafter; he said nothing of an Infinite Spirit, and but little of a future life. His cardinal precepts were obedience to parents and superiors, and reverence for the ancients and imitation of their virtues. He himself walked in the old paths, and thus added the force of example to that of precept. He gave the Chinese the Golden Rule, stated negatively: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The influence of Confucius has been greater than that of any other teacher excepting Christ and perhaps Buddha.

Another great teacher of the Chinese was Mencius (372–288 B.C.). He was a disciple of Confucius and a scarcely less revered philosopher and moral teacher.

[4] The upper line shows the earlier forms: 1, morning; 2, mouth; 3, mountain; 4, tree; 5, dog; 6, horse; 7, man.

104. Chinese Literature. — The most highly prized portion of Chinese literature is embraced in what is known as the Five Classics and the Four Books, called collectively the *Nine Classics*. A considerable part of the material of the Five Classics was collected and edited by Confucius. The Four Books, though not written by Confucius, yet bear the impress of his mind and thought, just as the Gospels teach the mind of Christ. The cardinal virtue inculcated by all the sacred writings is filial piety.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the Nine Classics have had upon the Chinese nation. For more than two thousand years these writings have been the Chinese Bible. But their influence has not been wholly good. The Chinese in strictly obeying the injunction to walk in the old ways, to conform to the customs of the ancients, have failed to mark out any new footpaths for themselves; hence one cause of the unprogressive character of Chinese civilization.

105. Education and Civil Service Competitive Examinations. — China has a very ancient educational system. The land was filled with schools, academies, and colleges more than a thousand years before our era, and education is to-day more general among the Chinese than among any other pagan people. A knowledge of the sacred books was until recently the sole passport to civil office and public employment.[5] All candidates for places in the government had to pass a series of competitive examinations in the Nine Classics. At the opening of the present century there were between two and three million persons studying for these literary tests. This ancient system is practically the same in principle as that which we, with great difficulty, are trying to establish in connection with our own civil service.

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106. The Three Religions, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. — There are three leading religions in China, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The great sage Confucius is reverenced and worshiped throughout the empire. Taoism takes its name from Tao, the beginning of all things. It is a very curious

[5] In the year 1905 the Dowager Empress by edict ordered that in future examinations the sciences of the West should be substituted for the ancient classics.

system of mystical ideas and superstitious practices. Buddhism was introduced into China about the opening of the Christian era, and soon became widely spread.

There is one element common to all these religions, and that is the worship of ancestors. Every Chinese, whether he be a Confucianist, a Taoist, or a Buddhist, reverences his ancestors, and prays and makes offerings to their spirits.

107. Policy of Nonintercourse. — The Chinese have always been a very self-satisfied and exclusive people. They have jealously excluded foreigners and outside influence from their country. The Great Wall with which they have hedged in their country on the north is the symbol of their policy of isolation. Doubtless this characteristic of the Chinese has been fostered by their geographical isolation; for great mountain barriers and wide deserts cut the country off from communication with the rest of the Asiatic continent. And then their reverence for antiquity has rendered them intolerant of innovation and change; hence, in part, the reluctance of the Chinese to admit into their country railroads, telegraphs, and other modern improvements. Such a departure from the ways and customs of the past has in it, to their way of thinking, something akin to disrespect and irreverence for ancestors.

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For China: 1. Confucius. 2. The Great Wall. 3. The competitive examinations. 4. The cardinal virtues. 5. Chinese writing. 6. Manners and customs.

Division II — Greece

CHAPTER X

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

108. Hellas. — The ancient people whom we call Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their land Hellas. But this term "Hellas" as used by the ancient Greeks embraced much more than modern Greece. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." Thus the name included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Greek settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine. Yet Greece proper was the real home land of the Hellenes and the actual center of Greek life and culture.

109. Divisions of Greece. — Long arms of the sea divide the Greek peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus; that is, the Island of Pelops, from its fabled colonizer.

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Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, is a beautiful glen, named by the ancients the Vale of Tempe, the only practicable pass by which the plain of Thessaly can be entered from the side of the sea. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the deep recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonæan oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, among which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of

Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens. The Attic land, as we shall learn, was the central point of Greek history.

The chief districts of Southern Greece were Corinthia, Arcadia, Achæa, Argolis, Laconia, and Elis.

The main part of Corinthia formed the isthmus uniting the Peloponnesus to Central Greece. Its chief city was Corinth, the gateway of the peninsula.

Arcadia, sometimes called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesus," formed the heart of the peninsula. This region consists of broken uplands shut in from the surrounding coast plains by irregular mountain walls. The inhabitants of this district, because thus isolated, were, in the general intellectual movement of the Greek race, left far behind the dwellers in the more open and favored portions of Greece. It is the rustic, simple life of the Arcadians that has given the term "Arcadian" its meaning of pastoral simplicity.

Argolis formed a tongue of land jutting out into the Ægean. This region is noted as the home of an early prehistoric culture, and holds to-day the remains of cities — Mycenæ and Tiryns — the kings of which built great palaces, possessed vast treasures in gold and silver, and held wide sway centuries before Athens had made for herself a name and place in history. The chief city of the region during the historic period was Argos.

Laconia, or Lacedæmon, embraced a considerable part of the southern portion of the Peloponnesus. A prominent feature of the physical geography of this region is a deep river valley, — the valley of the Eurotas, — from whence arose the descriptive name, "Hollow Lacedæmon." This district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Elis, a district on the western side of the Peloponnesus, is chiefly noted as the consecrated land which held Olympia, the great assembling place of the Greeks for the celebration of the most famous of their festivals, — the so-called Olympian games.

110. **Mountains.**—The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece,

Longitude East from Greenwich
20
22
24
26
28
40
38
36
MACEDONIA
THRACE
DORISCUS
Propontis
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosporus
Perinthus
Selymbria
Cyzicus
Priapus
Lampsacus
Abydos
Hellespont
Ilium or Troy
PHRYGIA
HELLESPONTICA
MT. IDA
Antandrus
Adramyttium
Bay of Adramyttium
MYSIA
Heraclea
Atarneus
Pergamus
Palopia
Elæa
Cyme
Phocæa
Magnesia
Smyrna
Sardis
Hermus R.
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
Caycus R.
Ephesus
Meander R.
Clazomenæ
Erythræ
Teos
Lebedos
Colophon
Chios
Lesbos
Mytilene
Methymna
Sigeum
Tenedos
Neandria
Larissa
Assos
ÆOLIAN COLONIES
IONIAN COLONIES
Samos
Icaria
Miletus
Priene
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Cos
Cnidus
Rhodes
Lindus
DORIAN COLONIES
Carpathus
Cydonia
Cnossus
CRETE
Gortyna
Thera
Amorgos
Naxos
Paros
Siphnos
Cimolos
Melos
Serphos
Cythnos
Syros
Gyaros
Myconos
Patmos
Delos
Andros
Tenos
Ceos
Myrio I.
Laurium
Sunium Pr.
Thasos
Samothracia
Imbros
Lemnos
Scyros
Mt. Athos
Abdera
Maronea
Dicæa
Tyris
Mesambria
Ænos
Amphipolis
Bion
Strymonic Gulf
Strymon R.
Sindus
Therma
Sibritta
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidæa
Thermaic Gulf
Sithonia
Pallene
Mende
Scione
Torone
Pella
Ægæ (Edessa)
PIERIUS MT.
Pieria
MT. OLYMPUS
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Pelion
Temp
Tempe
Peneus R.
Larissa
THESSALY
Pheræ
Iolcos
Cynoscephalæ
Pharsalus
Othrys Mt.
Lamia
Sciathos
Papasian Gulf
Sporades
Artemisium Pr.
Cerinthus
Euboean Sea
Malian G.
Maliac G.
Opus
Thermopylæ
Callidromus
Œta
Œtæan Mts.
Spercheius
Asopus R.
Cephissus R.
Parnassus
Delphi
Orchomenus
PHOCIS
LOCRIS
Opuntian Locris
Amphissa
Naupactus
Chalcis
EUBŒA
Eretria
Coronea
Cirrha
Crissæan G.
Delphic G.
Parnassus
Helicon
Thespiæ
Thebes
Platæa
Cithæron
Asopus R.
Delium
Oropus
BŒOTIA
Anactorium
Actium Prom.
Ambracian Gulf
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Sybota
Torone
Taxus
Corcyra
Corcyra
EPIRUS
Thyamis R.
Dodona
Acheloüs R.
Pindus Mts.
Acroceraunian Mts.
Cassiopa
Leucas I.
Ithaca
Cephallenia
ÆTOLIA
Amphilochian Argos
Achelous R.
Naupactus
Gulf of Corinth
Corinthian Gulf
Rhium
Patræ
Ægium
ACHÆA
Ægira
Leontium
Peneus R.
Elis
ELIS
Zacynthus
Strophades
Ithome
Messene
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Methone
Gulf of Cyparissia
Lepreum
Olympia
Alpheus R.
Phlius
Nemea
Cleonæ
Argos
Tiryns
Nauplia
Mantinea
Tegea
Heræa
ARCADIA
Megalopolis
Thyrea
ARGOLIS
Epidaurus
Ægina
Saronic Gulf
Eleusis
Decelea
Cephisus R.
Marathon
Carystus
ATTICA
Athens
Sunium Pr.
Troezen
Hermion
Hydrea
Asopus R.
Argolic Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Messenian Gulf
MESSENIA
LACONIA
Sparta
(Lacedæmon)
Amyclæ
Helos
Gythium
Malea Prom.
Tænarum Prom.
Cythera
Sphacteria I.
Methone
Pylos
Corone
Ægean Sea
GENERAL REFERENCE MAP
OF
ANCIENT GREECE
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
Scale of Miles.
M.-N. WORKS.
Authority:—
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus.
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shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

On the northern border of Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (its height is about 9700 feet), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the gods.

FIG. 37. — THE PLAIN OF OLYMPIA. (From Boetticher's *Olympia*)
The valley of the Alpheus in Elis, where were held the celebrated Olympian games

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another in order to scale Olympus.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece, — beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains, — were believed to be haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia.

111. The Rivers and Lakes of the Land. — Greece has no rivers large enough to be of service to commerce. Most of the streams

are scarcely more than winter torrents. Among the most important streams are the Peneus, which drains the Thessalian plain; the Alpheus in Elis, on the banks of which the Olympian games were celebrated; and the Eurotas, which threads the central valley of Laconia.

The lakes of Greece are in the main scarcely more than stagnant pools, the backwater of spring freshets. In this respect, Greece, though a mountainous country, presents a striking contrast to Switzerland, whose numerous and deep lakes form one of the most attractive features of Swiss scenery.

112. **Islands about Greece.** — Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle round the sacred island of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean. They are simply the peaks of submerged mountain ranges, which may be regarded as a continuation beneath the sea of the mountains of Central Greece.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa, and known to-day as Euvia. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. In the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos. To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Odysseus (Ulysses), the hero of the *Odyssey*.

113. **Influence of the Land upon the People.** — The physical geography of a country has much to do with molding the character and shaping the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities, foster the spirit of local patriotism; the sea, inviting abroad and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Mountain walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, and this is one reason probably why the Greeks formed so many small independent states, and never could be brought to feel or to act as a single nation.[1]

The Grecian peninsula is, moreover, by deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. Few spots in Greece are over forty miles from the sea. Hence its people were early tempted to a seafaring life, — tempted to follow what Homer calls the "wet paths" of Ocean, to see whither they might lead. Intercourse with the old civilizations of the Orient, which Greece faces,[2] stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were "stepping-stones," which invited intercourse between the settlers of Greece and the inhabitants of the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

How much the sea did in developing enterprise and intelligence in the cities of the maritime districts of Greece is shown by the contrast which the advancing culture of these regions presented to the lagging civilization of the peoples of the interior districts; as, for instance, those of Arcadia.

114. The Hellenes. — The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks; but, as we have already learned, they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen. They were divided into four families or tribes, — the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Æolians.

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The Achæans are represented by the Greek legends as being the dominant race in the Peloponnesus in prehistoric times. They

[1] The history of the cantons of Switzerland affords a somewhat similar illustration of the influence of the physical features of a country upon the political fortunes of its inhabitants. But we must be careful not to exaggerate the influence of geography upon Greek history. For the root of feelings and sentiments which were far more potent than geographical conditions in keeping the Greek cities apart, see sec. 123.

[2] That is to say, the most and best of her harbors are on her eastern shore. Greece thus turns her back, as it were, to Italy (compare sec. 285).

then overshadowed to such a degree all the other tribes as to cause their name to be frequently used for the Greeks in general.

The Ionians were a many-sided, enterprising people, who, speaking broadly, were given to trade and commerce, and lived much upon the sea. They attained unsurpassed excellence in art, literature, and philosophy. The most noted Ionian city was Athens, whose story is a large part of the history of Hellas.

The Dorians, in their typical communities, present themselves to us as a conservative, practical, and unimaginative race. Their speech and their art were both alike without ornament. Their education was almost wholly gymnastic and military. The most important city founded by them was Sparta, the rival of Athens.

The Æolians formed a rather ill-defined division. In historic times the name is often made to include all Hellenes not enumerated as Ionians or Dorians.

These several tribes, united by bonds of language and religion, always regarded themselves as members of a single family. They were proud of their ancestry, and were as exclusive almost as the Hebrews. All non-Hellenic people they called *Barbarians*.[3]

References. — CURTIUS,[4] vol. i, pp. 9–46. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 141–163. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. ii and xiv. TOZER, H. F., *Classical Geography* (Primer). RICHARDSON, R. B., *Vacation Days in Greece*. Dr. Richardson was for many years Director of the American School of Archæology at Athens. His delightful sketches of excursions to interesting historical sites will give a better idea of the physical features of Greece than all the formal descriptions of the geographers. BUTCHER, S. H., *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius;* for the mature student.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Greece as Europe in miniature. 2. Characteristics of the Greeks. See *Butcher*.

[3] At first this term meant scarcely more than "unintelligible folk"; but later it came to express aversion and contempt.

[4] We shall throughout cite the extended histories of Greece and of Rome by giving merely the author's name with volume and chapter or page.

FIG. 38. — COMBAT BETWEEN ACHILLES AND HECTOR. (From a vase)

CHAPTER XI

PREHISTORIC TIMES ACCORDING TO GREEK ACCOUNTS[1]

115. Character of the Legends. — The real history of the Greeks does not begin before the eighth century B.C. All that lies back of that date is an inseparable mixture of myth, legend, and fact. Yet this shadowy period forms the background of Greek history, and we cannot understand the Greeks of historic times without some knowledge, at least, of what they believed their ancestors did and experienced, for these beliefs greatly influenced their conduct. What has been said of the war against Troy, namely, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts," is true of the whole body of Greek legends. These tales were recited by the historian, dramatized by the tragic poet, cut in marble by the sculptor, and depicted by the painter on the walls of portico and temple. They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek and afforded the inspiration of many a great and worthy deed.

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Therefore, as a sort of prelude to the story we have to tell, we shall repeat some of the legends of the Greeks touching their foretime. But it must be carefully borne in mind that these legends are not history. Where, however, there seems to be sufficient ground to justify an opinion, we shall suggest what may be

[1] The prehistoric period in Greece is now commonly designated as the *Mycenæan Age*, for the reason that Mycenæ in Argolis was formerly believed to have been the center of the brilliant Bronze Age culture which characterized the second millennium B.C. in the Ægean lands. Recent discoveries in Crete, however, suggest the possibility of that island having been the radiating point of this civilization.

the grain of truth in any particular legend, or what part of it may be a dim though confused remembrance of actual events.

116. Oriental Immigrants. — The legends of the Greeks represent the early growth of civilization among them as having been promoted by the settlement in Greece of Oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the East. Thus from Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of Cecropia, which became afterwards the citadel of the illustrious city of Athens. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes.

The nucleus of fact in these legends is probably this, — that the European Greeks received certain of the elements of their culture from the East. Without doubt they got from thence letters, a gift of incomparable value, and hints in art, besides suggestions and facts in philosophy and science.

117. The Heroes: Heracles, Theseus, and Minos. — The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story.

Heracles was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing twelve superhuman labors, and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods. The myth of Heracles is made up in part of the very same tales that were told of the Chaldean hero Gilgamesh (sec. 55). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Babylonian hero.

Theseus, a descendant of Cecrops, was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his achievements were the slaying of the Minotaur,—a monster which Minos, king of Crete, kept in a labyrinth and fed upon youths and maidens sent from Athens as a forced tribute, — the defeat of the Amazons, and the consolidation of the twelve boroughs or hamlets of Attica into a single state.

The legend of Theseus doubtless contains a substantial kernel of history. The consolidation of Attica and the founding of Athens were certainly historical events, while the slaying of the Minotaur may be taken to symbolize the freeing of the Athenians from a tribute paid to the kings of Crete.

Minos, who has just been mentioned as the king of Crete, was made by tradition a legislator of divine wisdom, the suppressor of piracy in the Grecian seas, and the founder of the first great maritime state of Hellas. This legend preserves the memory of a

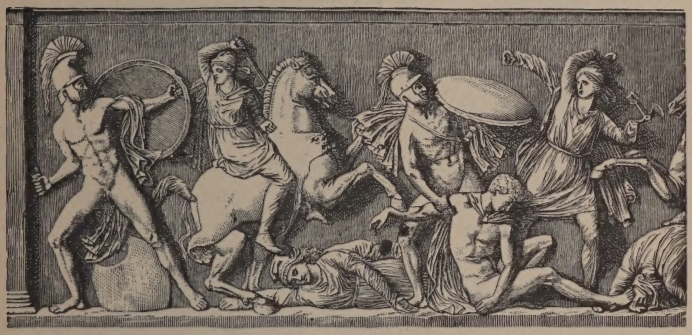

FIG. 39. — BATTLE BETWEEN GREEKS AND AMAZONS
(From a sarcophagus)

Cretan kingdom which recent discoveries have proved was great and powerful as early as the seventeenth century B.C.[2]

118. The Argonautic Expedition. — Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of various memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. Among these were the Argonautic Expedition and the Siege of Troy.

The tale of the Argonauts is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, — the latter a musician of superhuman skill, the music

[2] The center of this early Cretan culture was Cnossus. Here have been unearthed, by Mr. A. J. Evans, the remains of a wonderful, many-chambered palace, which he believes to represent the Labyrinth of the tradition.

of whose lyre moved trees and stones, — set sail in "a fifty-oared galley," called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon in a grove on the eastern shores of the Euxine, — an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition was successful, and after many wonderful adventures the heroes returned in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to this tale. In its later forms we may believe it to commemorate the maritime activity of the Greeks of prehistoric times in the North Ægean and the Black Sea.

119. The Trojan War (legendary date 1194–1184 B.C.). — The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination.

Ilios, or Troy, was a strong-walled city which had grown up in Asia Minor just south of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ and brother of Menelaus, was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted Achilles" of Thessaly, the "crafty Odysseus," king of Ithaca, the aged Nestor, and many more, — the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Aulis across the Ægean to the Trojan shores. For ten years the Greeks and their allies held in close siege the city of Priam. The place was at last taken through a device of the artful Odysseus, and was sacked and burned to the ground.

There is probably a nucleus of fact in this, the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. We may believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. That there really was in prehistoric times in the Troad a city which was the stronghold of a powerful and rich royal race has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann and others.

FIG. 40. — THE VAPHIO CUPS AND THEIR SCROLLS. (Cups from photographs; the scrolls drawn from facsimiles of the cups)

Found in a tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, in 1889. "The finest product of the goldsmith's art left to our wondering eyes by the Achæan civilization of Greece" (Richardson). See p. 82, n. 3.

120. The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date 1104 B.C.). — Legend tells how Heracles, an Achæan, in the times before the Trojan War ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. After a hundred years of exile the descendants of the hero returned at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, conquered the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semi-divine ancestor.

This legend seems to be a dim remembrance of a prehistoric invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians from the north of Greece, and the expulsion or subjugation of the earlier Achæan population of the peninsula.[3]

121. Migrations to Asia Minor. — The Greek legends represent that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus resulted in three distinct migrations from the mother land to the shores of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands. The northwestern shore of Asia Minor was settled mainly by Æolian emigrants from Bœotia. The coast to the south of the Æolians was occupied by Ionian emigrants, who, uniting with their Ionian kinsmen already settled upon

[3] It is possible that the wonderful ruins and art relics found at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in the Peloponnesus are the memorials of a prehistoric civilization overwhelmed by the Dorian invasion. In 1876 Dr. Schliemann began excavations at Mycenæ. The most interesting of his discoveries here were several tombs holding the remains of nineteen bodies, which were surrounded by an immense number of articles of gold, silver, and bronze, — golden masks and breastplates, drinking cups of solid gold, bronze swords inlaid with gold and silver, and personal ornaments of every kind. There was one hundred pounds in weight of gold articles alone. This discovery is declared by Professor Manatt to be "the crowning historical revelation of our time." It assures us at least that the ancient legends, in so far as they represent Mycenæ as having been in early pre-Dorian times the seat of an influential and wealthy royal race, rest on a basis of actual fact.

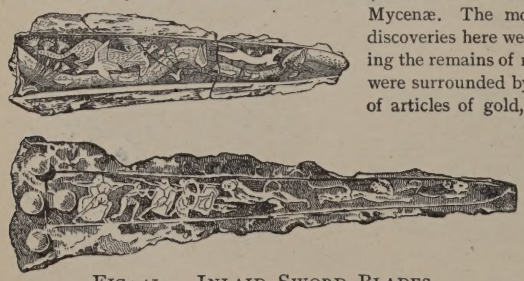

FIG. 41. — INLAID SWORD BLADES FOUND AT MYCENÆ

that shore, built up twelve splendid cities (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), which finally united to form the celebrated Ionian Confederacy. South of the Ionians, the Dorians established their colonies. They also settled the important islands of Cos and Rhodes, and conquered and colonized Crete.

These traditions doubtless preserve the memory of a great shifting of the population of Greece caused by the incoming of the conquering Dorian race. With these migrations to the Asiatic shores the legendary age of Greece comes to an end. From this time forward we tread upon fairly firm historical ground.

References. — After the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Bryant's translation), the following works will be found useful in the present connection. CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 47–78. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. i, pp. 309–469. ABBOTT, vol. i, chap. v; on the Homeric poems and the Homeric society. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. iii–x. CHURCH, A. J., *Stories from Homer* and *Greek Story and Song;* and ZIMMERN, H., *Old Tales from Greece*, are for youthful readers. GAYLEY, C. M., *Classic Myths in English Literature*, chaps. xvii–xxvii.

For archæological matters: SCHLIEMANN, H., *Troy and its Remains* (1875); *Mycenæ* (1878); *Ilios* (1881); *Troja* (1884); and *Tiryns* (1885). For an admirable summary of all these works of Dr. Schliemann's, see SCHUCHHARDT, C., *Schliemann's Excavations.* DIEHL, C., *Excursions in Greece;* an account of the results of excavations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in Greece. GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. i–v; compares the Greek legends with recent archæological discoveries and discusses the question whether or not these discoveries may be regarded as a verification in any degree of the legends. TSOUNTAS, C., and MANATT, J. I., *The Mycenæan Age.* HALL, H. R. H., *The Oldest Civilization of Greece.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ. 2. The centers and the character of the culture of the Mycenæan Age. 3. The shield of Achilles. 4. The exploits of Perseus.

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FIG. 42. — HISSARLIK, THE PROBABLE SITE OF ANCIENT TROY
(From a photograph)

CHAPTER XII

THE INHERITANCE OF THE HISTORIC GREEKS

122. The City-State. — In this chapter we shall give a short account of the political and religious institutions, of the language and literature of the Greeks, at the dawn of history. These things were their heritage from prehistoric times.

The light that falls upon Greece about the seventh century B.C. shows the land filled with cities. It is of these cities that we must first say a word, for it is with them — with *cities* — that Greek history has to do. In the first place, each of these cities was independent and self-governed, like a modern nation. It was a city-state. It made war and peace and held diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Its citizens were aliens in every other city.

In the second place, these city-states were, as we think of independent states, very small. In most cases each consisted of nothing more than a single walled town with a little circumjacent farming or pasture land. Sometimes, however, the city-state embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city-state of Athens included all Attica with its hundred or more villages and towns. In all other cases, however, the outlying villages, if any, were so close to the walled town that all their inhabitants, in the event of a sudden raid by enemies, could get to the city gates in one or two hours at most.

In the third place, each of these early cities was made up of smaller bodies, — clans (*gentes*), phratries, and tribes. Of these the smallest, that is the clan, was the most important. The members of the clan, which was simply the expanded family, were bound together not only by the ties of kinship but also by the ties of religion. All were the actual or reputed descendants of a common ancestor whom they worshiped as a sort of guardian divinity. It was only members of these clans who at first enjoyed the rights of citizenship.

123. Feeling of the Greek for his City. — We cannot understand Greek history unless we get at the outset a clear idea of the feelings of a Greek towards the city of which he was a member. It was his country, the fatherland for which he lived and for which he died. Exile from his native city was to him a fate scarcely less dreaded than death. This devotion of the Greek to his city was the sentiment which corresponds to patriotism amongst us, only, being a narrower as well as a religious feeling, it was much more intense.

It was this strong city feeling among the Greeks which prevented them from ever uniting to form a single nation. The history of Greece from first to last is, in general, the history of a great number of independent cities wearing one another out with their never-ending disputes and wars arising from a thousand and one petty causes of rivalry and hatred. But it was this very thing that made life in the Greek cities so stimulating and strenuous, and that developed so wonderfully the faculties of the Greek citizen. In a word, the wonderful thing which we call Greek civilization was the flower and fruitage of the city-state.

124. Ideas of the Greeks respecting the System of the Universe. — Forming another important element of the inheritance of the historic Greeks were their religious ideas and institutions. In speaking of these we shall begin with a word respecting their ideas in regard to the system of the universe.

The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, circular in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. The heavens were a solid vault or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed souls. Still beneath this was the prison Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron.

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The sun was an archer god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of

delight and plenty. In the western region were the Isles of the Blest, the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

125. **The Olympian Council.** — At the head of the Greek pantheon there was a council of twelve members, comprising six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities were Zeus, the father of gods and men; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; Apollo, or Phœbus, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus; Hermes, the wing-footed herald of the celestials, the god of invention and commerce.

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of the domestic arts; Artemis, the goddess of the chase; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the white sea foam; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth; Demeter, the earth mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.[1]

These great deities were simply magnified human beings. They surpassed mortals rather in power than in size of body. Their abode was Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

126. **The Delphian Oracle.** — The most precious part perhaps of the religious heritage of the historic Greeks from the misty Hellenic foretime was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The Greeks believed that in the early ages the gods were wont to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past, — a tradition of a golden

[1] Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine. Hades ruled over the lower realms; Dionysus was the god of wine; Eros, of love; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinnyes) avenged crime, especially murder and sacrilegious crimes. Besides these there were the Centaurs, the Cyclopes, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and a thousand others.

age that had passed away. In historic times, though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*. These communications, it was believed, were made sometimes by Zeus,[2] but more commonly by Apollo. Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These favored spots were called *oracles*, as were also the responses there received.

The most renowned of the Greek oracles, as we have intimated, was that at Delphi, in Phocis. Here, from a deep fissure in the rocks, arose stupefying vapors, which were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over this spot was erected a temple in honor of the Revealer. The communication was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed above the orifice. As she became overpowered by the vapors, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but very many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were made obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn.[3]

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world. It was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in times of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

127. The Olympian Games. — Another of the most characteristic of the religious institutions of the Greeks which they inherited from prehistoric times was the sacred games celebrated at Olympia in Elis, in honor of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this

[2] The oracle of Zeus of widest repute was that at Dodona, in Epirus, where the priests listened for the voice of the god in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak.

[3] Thus Crœsus at the time he made war on Cyrus (sec. 88) was told in response to his inquiry that if he undertook the war he would destroy a great empire. He did, indeed, — but the empire was his own.

festival is lost in the obscurity of tradition; but by the opening of the eighth century B.C. it had assumed national importance. In 776 B.C. a contestant named Corœbus was victor in the foot race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad.

The contests consisted of foot races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone special training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival.

The victor was crowned with a garland of sacred olive; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating his name and triumphs as the name and triumphs of one who had reflected immortal honor upon his native state.

128. **The Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian Games.** — Besides the Olympian games there were transmitted from prehistoric times the germs at least of three other national festivals. These were the Pythian, held in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Nemea, in Argolis; and the Isthmian, observed in honor of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Corinth. Just when these festivals had their beginnings it is impossible to say, but by the time the historic period had fairly opened, that is to say, by the sixth century B.C., they had lost their local and assumed a national character, and were henceforth to be prominent features of the common life of the Greek cities.

129. **Influence of the Grecian Games.** — For more than a thousand years these national festivals, particularly those celebrated

at Olympia, exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, save the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind.

FIG. 43. — GREEK RUNNERS

Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art (sec. 244). "Without the Olympic games," says Holm, "we should never have had Greek sculpture." They also promoted intercourse between the Grecian cities and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, they impressed a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.[4]

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130. The Amphictyonic Council. — Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors," which formed another important part of the bequest from the legendary age to historic Greece. These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

Preëminent among all such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony. This was a

[4] The Olympian games, after having been suspended since the fourth century of our era, were revived, with an international character, in 1896, at Athens.

league of twelve of the sub-tribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the oracle at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city." This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law.

The Amphictyons waged in behalf of the Delphic god Apollo a number of crusades, or sacred wars. The first of these was carried on against the Phocian towns of Crissa and Cirrha (about 595–586 B.C.), whose inhabitants had been guilty of annoying the pilgrims on their way to the shrine. The cities were taken and leveled to the ground. Their lands were also consecrated to the gods, which means that they were never thereafter to be plowed or planted, or in any way devoted to secular use.

131. **The Greek Language.** — One of the most wonderful things which the Greeks brought out of their dim foretime was their language. At the beginning of the historic period it was already one of the richest and most perfectly elaborated languages ever spoken by human lips. Through what number of centuries it was taking form upon the lips of the forefathers of the historic Greeks, we can only vaguely imagine. It bears testimony to a long period of Hellenic life lying behind the historic age in Hellas.

132. **The Mythology of the Greeks.** — Another wonderful possession of the Greeks when they first appeared in history was their mythology. All races in the earlier stages of their development are "myth-makers," but no race has ever created such a rich and beautiful mythology as did the ancient Greeks, and this for the reason that no other race was ever endowed with so fertile and lively an imagination. Respecting the great influence of these myths and legends upon the life and thought of the historic Greeks we have already spoken (sec. 115).

133. **The Homeric Poems.** — The rich and flexible language of the Greeks had already in prehistoric times been wrought into epic poems of incomparable beauty and perfection. These epics

transmitted from the Greek foretime and known as the "Homeric poems" consist of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Neither their exact date nor their authorship is known (sec. 253). That they were the prized possession of the Greeks at the beginning of the historical period is all that it is important for us to note here. They were a sort of Bible to the Greeks, and exercised an incalculable influence not only upon the religious but also upon the literary life of the entire Hellenic world.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Religion as the organizer of the ancient city-state. See *Coulanges* and *Fowler*. 2. The story of Demeter and Persephone. 3. The Eleusinian mysteries. 4. The Olympian games.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HOMER

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA

134. Situation of Sparta. — Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the Dorian Invasion (sec. 120). It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name Sparta (sown land) from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground,

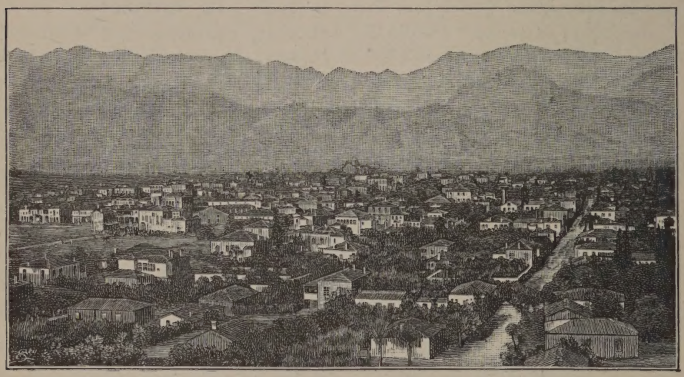

FIG. 44. — SPARTA, WITH THE RANGES OF THE TAYGETUS IN THE BACKGROUND. (From a photograph)

whereas the heart and center of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel or acropolis). But Sparta needed no citadel. Her situation, surrounded as she was by almost impassable mountain barriers, and far removed from the sea, was her sufficient defense. Indeed, the Spartans seem to have thought it unnecessary even to erect a wall round their city, which stood open on every side until late and degenerate times.

135. Classes in the Spartan State. — The population of Laconia was divided into three classes, — Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots. The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of

the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population, at no period numbering more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The Perioeci (dwellers around) were the subjugated natives. They are said to have outnumbered the Spartans three to one. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute-rent, and in times of war to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of serfs, called Helots. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot. They had no rights, practically, which their Spartan masters felt bound to respect. It is affirmed that when they grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.

136. The Legend of Lycurgus. — Of the history of Sparta before the First Olympiad we have no certain knowledge. According to tradition, peace, prosperity, and rapid growth were secured through the adoption of a most remarkable political constitution framed by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus.[1]

It is probable that Lycurgus was a real person, and that he had something to do with shaping the Spartan constitution. But it is almost certain that he simply reformed a constitution already in existence; for it is a proverb that constitutions grow and are not made. Circumstances, doubtless, were in the main the real creator of the peculiar political institutions of Sparta, — the circumstances that surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population.

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137. The Spartan Constitution. — The so-called constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, a General Assembly, and a sort of executive board composed of five persons called Ephors.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two consuls at Rome. One was a check upon the other. This double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there was no

[1] The date of Lycurgus falls probably near the close of the ninth century B.C.

successful attempt on the part of a Spartan king to subvert the constitution. The power of the kings, it should be added, came to be rather nominal than real, save in time of war.

The Senate consisted of twenty-eight elders and the two kings. The duties of the body seem to have been both of a judicial and a legislative character. No one could become a senator until he had reached the age of sixty.

The General Assembly was composed of all the citizens of Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made and questions of peace and war decided. In striking contrast to the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without general debate, only the magistrates and persons specially invited being allowed to address the assemblage. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated windy discussion.

The board of Ephors was composed, as we have noticed, of five persons, elected in some way not known to us. This body gradually drew to itself many of the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as much of the authority of the associate kings.

138. Regulations as to Land, Trade, and Money. — Plutarch says that Lycurgus, seeing that the lands had fallen largely into the hands of the rich, made a general redistribution of them, allotting an equal portion to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the thirty thousand Perioeci. It is not probable that there ever was such an exact division of landed property. The Spartan theory, it is true, seems to have been that every free man should possess a farm large enough to support him without work, but as a matter of fact there existed, at certain periods at least, great inequality in landed possessions among the Spartans. In the fourth century, according to Plutarch, not more than one hundred of the citizens held any land at all.

The Spartans were forbidden to engage in commerce or to pursue any trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercises. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This money, Plutarch tells us, was so heavy that the amount needed to make a trifling purchase required a

yoke of oxen to draw it. The object of Lycurgus in instituting such a currency was, we are told, to prevent its being used for the purchase of worthless foreign stuff.[2]

139. The Public Tables. — In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus is said to have ordered that all the citizens should eat at public and common tables. This was their custom, but Lycurgus could have had nothing to do with instituting it. It was part of their military life.

Every citizen was required to contribute to these common meals a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices. Excepting the Ephors, none, not even the kings, was excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from an expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian once visited Sparta, and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, which seems to have consisted in the main of a black broth, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle: "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

140. Education of the Youth. — Children at Sparta were regarded as belonging to the state. Every male infant was brought before the Council of Elders, and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy trainers. The aim of the entire course was to make a nation of soldiers who should contemn toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor.

The mind was cultivated only as far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were not taught,

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[2] The real truth about this iron money is simply this: the conservative, non-trading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B.C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money system absolutely necessary. In referring the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic* (from *Laconia*), meaning a concise and pithy mode of expression. At the public tables the boys were not permitted to speak until questioned; they sat "silent as statues." As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In running, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity. At the Olympian games Spartan contestants more frequently than any others bore off the prizes of victory.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. At times he was scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash without revealing their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskillful as not to get away safely with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view, — the rearing of a nation of skillful and resolute warriors, — the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests.

141. The Spartan Conquest of Messenia. — The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian Wars was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian Wars (about 743–723 and 645–631 B.C.). The outcome of the protracted

struggle was the defeat of the Messenians and their reduction to the hard and bitter condition of the Helots of Laconia. Many of the nobles fled the country and found hospitality as exiles in other lands. Some of the fugitives conquered for themselves a place in Sicily and gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messana (Messina), on the Sicilian straits.

Thus Sparta secured possession of Messenia. From the end of the Second Messenian War on to the decline of the Spartan power in the fourth century B.C., the Messenians were the serfs of the Spartans. All the southern part of the Peloponnesus was now Spartan territory.

142. Sparta becomes Supreme in the Peloponnesus. — After Sparta had secured possession of Messenia, her influence and power advanced steadily until her leadership was acknowledged by all the other states of the Peloponnesus save Argos. The virtual management of the Olympian games, at Olympia, in Elis, was in her hands. Through these national festivals her name and fame were spread throughout all Hellas. She now began to be looked to even by the Greek cities beyond the Peloponnesus as the natural leader and champion of the Greeks.

Having now traced in brief outline the rise of Sparta to supremacy in the Peloponnesus, we must turn aside to take a wider look over Hellas, in order to note an expansion movement of the Hellenic race which resulted in the establishment of Hellenes upon almost every shore of the then known world.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Argos and King Pheidon. 2. Origin of the double sovereignty at Sparta. 3. The women of Sparta. 4. Legends of the Messenian Wars. 5. The Helots of Laconia. See *Thucydides*, iv. 80.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AGE OF COLONIZATION AND OF TYRANNIES

I. The Age of Colonization (about 750–600 B.C.)

143. Causes of Greek Colonization.—The latter half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C. constituted a period in Greek history marked by great activity in the establishment of colonies. One inciting cause of this outward movement at this time was the political unrest which had come to fill almost all the cities of Greece. Oligarchies and tyrannies (sec. 152) had arisen, and the people oftentimes were oppressed. Thousands, driven from their homes, like the Puritans in the time of the Stuart tyranny in England, fled over the seas, and, under the direction of the Delphian Apollo, laid upon remote and widely separated shores the basis of "dispersed Hellas." The overcrowding of population and the Greek love of adventure also contributed to swell the number of emigrants.

144. Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City.—The history of the Greek colonies would be unintelligible without an understanding of the relation in which a Greek colony stood to the city sending out the emigrants. There was a wide difference between Greek colonization and Roman. The Roman colony was subject to the authority of the mother city.[1] The Greek colony, on the other hand, was, in almost all cases, wholly independent of its parent city. The Greek mind could not entertain the idea of one city as rightly ruling over another, even though that other were her own daughter colony.[2]

But while there were no political bonds uniting the mother city and her daughter colonies, still the colonies were attached to their parent country by ties of kinship, of culture, and of filial

[1] In this respect the colonies of Rome resembled those of modern times.

[2] Besides the independent colonies, however, there was another class known as *cleruchies*, over which the mother city retained full control. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number.

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piety. The sacred fire on the altar of the new home was kindled from embers piously borne by the emigrants from the public hearth of the mother city, and testified constantly that the citizens of the two cities were members of the same though divided family.

The feeling the colonists had for their mother city is shown by the names which they often gave to the prominent objects in and about their new home. Just as the affectionate memory of the homes from which they had gone out prompted the New England colonists to reproduce in the new land the names of places and objects dear to them in the old, so did the cherished remembrance of the land they had left lead the Greek emigrants to give to the streets and temples and fountains and hills of their new city the familiar and endeared names of the old home.

145. **The Chalcidian Colonies** (about 750–650 B.C.). — An early colonizing ground of the Greeks was the Macedonian coast. Here a triple promontory juts far out into the Ægean. On this broken shore, Chalcis of Eubœa, with the help of emigrants from other cities, founded so many colonies — thirty-two owned her as their mother city — that the land became known as Chalcidice.

One of the chief attractions of this shore to the Greek colonists was the rich copper, silver, and gold deposits. The hills, too, were clothed with heavy forests which furnished excellent timber for shipbuilding, and this was an important item of export, since in many parts of Greece timber was scarce.

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146. **Colonies on the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus.** — A second region full of attractions for the colonists of the enterprising commercial cities of the mother country was that embracing the Hellespont and the Bosporus, together with the connecting sheet of water known to the Greeks as the Propontis. These water channels, forming as they do the gateway to the northern world, early drew the attention of the Greek traders. Here was founded, among other cities, Byzantium (658 B.C.). The city was built, under the direction of the Delphian oracle,[3] on

[3] The managers of the oracle, doubtless through the visitors to the shrine, kept themselves informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able to give good advice to those contemplating the founding of a new settlement.

one of the most magnificent sites for a great emporium that the ancient world afforded. It was destined to a long and checkered history.

147. Colonies in the Euxine Region. — The tale of the Argonauts (sec. 118) shows that in prehistoric times the Greeks probably carried on trade with the shores of the Euxine. The chief products of the region were fish, grain, and cattle, besides timber, gold, copper, and iron.

Still another object of commerce was slaves. This region was a sort of slave hunters' land, — the Africa of Hellas. It supplied to a great degree the slave markets of the Hellenic world. In the modern Caucasian slave trade of the Mohammedan sultans we may recognize a survival of a commerce which was active twenty-five hundred years ago.

Eighty colonies in the Euxine are said to have owned Miletus as their mother city. The coasts of the sea became so crowded with Greek cities, and the whole region was so astir with Greek enterprise, that the Greeks came to regard this quarter of the world, once looked upon as so remote and inhospitable, as almost a part of the home country.

148. Colonies in Southern Italy. — At the same time that the tide of Hellenic migration was flowing towards the north it was also flowing towards the west. Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important city of Taras, the Tarentum of the Romans (708 B.C.), and the Æolian city of Sybaris (721 B.C.), noted for the luxurious life of its citizens, whence our term *Sybarite*, meaning a voluptuary.

Upon the western coast of the peninsula was the city of Cumæ (Kyme), famed throughout the ancient world on account of its oracle and sibyl. This was probably the oldest Greek colony in Italy.

The chief importance of the cities of Magna Græcia for civilization springs from their relations to Rome. Through them, without doubt, the early Romans received many primary elements of

culture, deriving thence probably their knowledge of letters as well as of Greek constitutional law (sec. 309).

149. Colonies in Sicily and in Southern Gaul. — The island of Sicily is in easy sight from the Italian shore. About the same time that the southern part of the peninsula was being filled with Greek colonists, this island was also receiving a swarm of immigrants. Here among other colonies was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage.

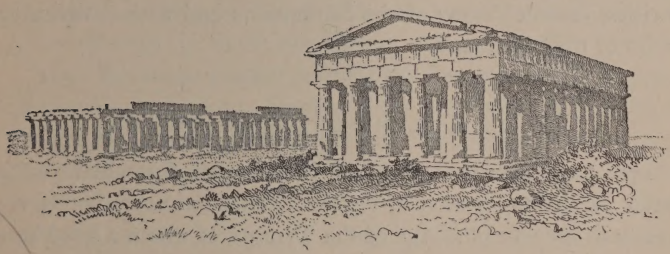

FIG. 45. — RUINED TEMPLES AT PÆSTUM

Pæstum was the Greek Posidonia, in Lucania. These ruins form the most noteworthy existing monuments of the early Greek occupation of Southern Italy

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Sicily was the most disorderly and tumultuous part of Hellas. It was the "wild West" of the Hellenic world. It was the land of romance and adventure, and seems to have drawn to itself the most untamed and venturesome spirits among the Greeks.

The coast of Gaul where the Rhone meets the sea was another region occupied by Greek colonists. A chief attraction here was the amber and tin brought overland from the Baltic and from Britain. Here were established several colonies, chief among which was Massalia (about 600 B.C.), the modern Marseilles.

150. Colonies in North Africa and Egypt. — In the Nile Delta the Greeks early established the important station of Naucratis, which was the gateway through which Hellenic influences passed into Egypt and Egyptian influences passed out into Greece. Some time in the seventh century B.C., in obedience to the commands of the Delphian Apollo, they founded on the African

coast the important colony of Cyrene, which became the metropolis of a large district known as Cyrenaica.

151. Place of the Colonies in Grecian History. — The history of dispersed Hellas is closely interwoven with that of continental Hellas. In truth, a large part of the history of Greece would be unintelligible should we lose sight of Greater Greece, just as a large part of the history of Europe since the seventeenth century cannot be understood without a knowledge of Greater Europe. In colonial interests, rivalries, and jealousies we shall find the inciting cause of many of the contentions and wars between the cities of the home land.

II. The Tyrannies (about 650–500 B.C.)

152. The Character and Origin of the Greek Tyrannies. — The latter part of the period of Greek colonization corresponds very nearly to the so-called Age of the Tyrants, of whom a word must here be said.

In the Heroic Age the preferred form of government among the Greeks was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, — one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the scepter." But by the dawn of the historic period, the patriarchal monarchies of the Achæan age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. A little later, just as the Homeric monarchies had been superseded by oligarchies, so were these in many of the Greek cities superseded by tyrannies.

By the term *tyrannos* (tyrant) the Greeks did not mean one who ruled harshly, but simply one who held the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek tyrants were beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state which did not at one time or another fall into the hands of a tyrant.

The so-called Age of the Tyrants lasted from about 650 to 500 B.C., although we hear of tyrants ruling in some cities long before the earlier and in others long after the later date.

The causes that led to the overthrow in so many cities of oligarchic rule and the establishment of government by a single person were various. A main cause, however, of the rise of tyrannies is found in the misrule of the nobles, into whose hands the royal authority of earlier times had passed. By their selfish, cruel, and arbitrary administration of the government they provoked the revolt of the people and invited destruction.

Generally the person setting up a tyranny was some ambitious member of the aristocracy, who had held himself out as the champion of the people, and who, aided by them, had succeeded in overturning the hated government of the oligarchs.

153. **The Greek Feeling towards the Tyrants.**—The tyrants sat upon unstable thrones. The Greeks, always lovers of freedom, had an inextinguishable hatred of these despots. Furthermore, the atrocious crimes of some of them caused the whole class to be regarded with the utmost abhorrence, — so much so that tyrannicide, that is, the killing of a tyrant, came to be regarded by the Greeks as a supremely patriotic and virtuous act. Consequently the tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies reëstablished, or democracies set up in their place. Speaking broadly, the Dorian cities preferred aristocratic and the Ionian cities democratic government.

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154. **Typical Tyrants.** — Among the most noted of the tyrants were Pisistratus, at Athens, of whom we shall speak hereafter; Periander at Corinth (625–585 B.C.), who was a most cruel ruler, yet so generous a patron of artists and literary men that he was thought worthy of a place among the Seven Sages; and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos (535–522 B.C.), who, with that island as a stronghold and with a fleet of a hundred war galleys, built up a sort of maritime kingdom in the Ægean, and for the space of more than a decade enjoyed such astonishing and uninterrupted prosperity that it was believed his sudden downfall and death — he was lured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, and crucified — were brought about by the envy of the gods, who the Greeks thought were apt to be jealous of over-prosperous mortals.

155. Influence of the Tyrants upon Greek Civilization. — The rule of the tyrants conferred some undoubted benefits upon Greek civilization. Through the connections which the despots formed with foreign kings the isolation of the Greek cities was broken. Thus Pheidon of Argos — a tyrant of the better class — was in close relations with the Lydian kings, and Polycrates was the friend and ally of Amasis, king of Egypt. These connections between the courts of the tyrants and those of the rulers of Oriental countries opened the cities of the Hellenic world to the influences of those lands of culture, widened their horizon, and enlarged the sphere of their commercial enterprise.

Again, the tyrants were apt to be liberal patrons of art and literature. Poetry and music flourished in the congenial atmosphere of their luxurious courts, while architecture was given a great impulse by the public buildings and works which many of them undertook with a view of embellishing their capitals, or of winning the favor of the poorer classes by creating opportunities for their employment. Thus it happened that the Age of the Tyrants was a period marked by an unusually rapid advance of many of the Greek cities in their artistic, intellectual, and industrial life.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Delphian oracle and Greek colonization. 2. Life in the Greek colonies. 3. A comparison of Greek and Roman colonies. 4. Phalaris of Agrigentum. 5. The tyrants as patrons of religion, art, and literature.

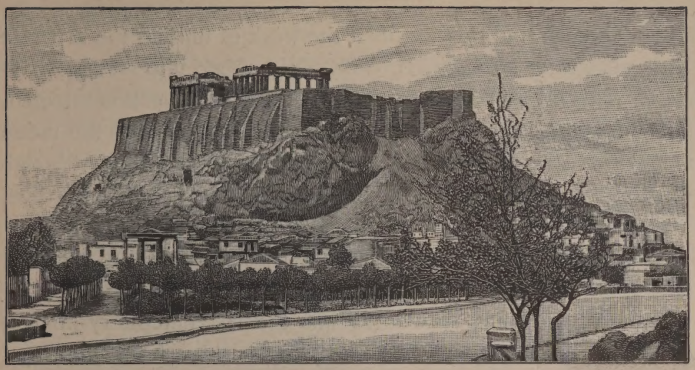

FIG. 46. — THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS. (From a photograph)

CHAPTER XV

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THE HISTORY OF ATHENS UP TO THE PERSIAN WARS

156. The Attic People. — The population of Attica in historic times was essentially Ionian in race, but there were in it strains of other Hellenic stocks, besides some non-Hellenic elements as well. This mixed origin of the population is believed to be one secret of the versatile yet well-balanced character which distinguished the Attic people above all other branches of the Hellenic family.

157. The Site of Athens. — Four or five miles from the sea, a little hill, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early settlers of the Attic plains. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginning of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

158. The Kings of Athens. — In prehistoric times Athens was ruled by kings, like all the other Grecian cities. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line.

To Theseus tradition ascribed the work of uniting the separate Attic villages or strongholds, twelve in number, into a single city-state. This prehistoric union, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens. How much the union meant for Athens is shown by the history of Thebes. Although holding the same relation to Bœotia that Athens held to Attica, Thebes never succeeded in uniting the Bœotian towns into a single city-state, and consequently fretted away her strength in constant bickerings and wars with them.

159. The Archons. — Codrus was the last hereditary king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles from the royal family, was simply ruler for life. There were twelve life kings, and then (in 752 B.C.) the authority of the regal office was still further diminished by limiting the rule of the king to ten years. Later the office was thrown open to all the nobles, and the term of office reduced to one year. As the power of the king was diminished, his old-time duties were assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles from among themselves. The outcome of these changes was that a little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

160. The Council of the Areopagus and the General Assembly. — Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.[1] This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors. There was no appeal from its decisions. This council was, at the opening of the historic period, the real power in the Athenian state.

In addition to the board of Archons and the Council of the Areopagus, there is some evidence of the existence of a general

[1] So called from the name of the hill Ἄρειος πάγος, "Hill of Ares," which was the assembling place of the council.

assembly (Ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*), in which all those who served in the heavy-armed forces of the state had a place.

161. Classes in the Athenian State. — The leading class in the Athenian state were the nobles, or Eupatrids. These men were wealthy landowners, a large part of the best soil of Attica, it is said, being held by them.

Beneath the nobles we find the body of the nominally free inhabitants. Many of them were tenants living in a state little removed from serfdom upon the estates of the wealthy nobles. They paid rent in kind to their landlords, and in case of failure to pay, they, together with their wives and children, might be seized by the proprietor and sold as slaves. Others owned their little farms, but at the time of which we are speaking had fallen deeply in debt. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, these classes among the common people were filled with bitterness towards the nobles and were ready for revolution.

162. Draco's Code (621 B.C.). — It was probably to quiet the people and to save the state from anarchy[2] that the nobles at this time appointed a person named Draco, one of their own order, to write out and publish the laws.[3]

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In carrying into effect his commission, Draco probably did little more than reduce existing rules and customs to a definite and written form. The laws as published were very severe. Death was the penalty for the smallest theft. This severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood."

There was one real and great defect in Draco's work. He did not accomplish anything in the way of economic reform, and

[2] Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, had just made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the supreme power (the Rebellion of Cylon, 628 or 624 B.C.).

[3] Up to this time the rules and customs of the city had been unwritten, and hence the Eupatrid magistrates, who alone administered the laws, could and often did interpret them unfairly in favor of their own class. The people demanded that the customs should be put in writing and published, so that every one might know just what they were (compare sec. 309).

thus did nothing to give relief to those who were struggling with poverty and were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.[4]

163. The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.). — The condition of the poorer classes grew more and more unendurable. Some radical measures of relief became necessary. Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians resolved to place their laws in the hands of a single man, to be remodeled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes, was selected to discharge this responsible duty. Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He canceled all debts of every kind, both public and private.[5] Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four propertied classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. He also made other changes in the constitution whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong.

164. The Tyrant Pisistratus (560–527 B.C.). — The reforms of Solon naturally worked hardship to many persons. These became bitter enemies of the new order of things. Moreover, the reformed constitution failed to work smoothly. Taking advantage of the situation, Pisistratus, an ambitious noble, with a small force

[4] The authorities are not agreed as to whether or not Draco made any changes in the constitution.

[5] This is Aristotle's account of the matter (*Athenian Constitution*, ch. 6). According to other accounts, Solon annulled only debts secured on land or on the person of the debtor. Solon also reformed the monetary system.

seized the Acropolis and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, he as often returned and reinstated himself in the tyranny.

Pisistratus may be taken as a type of the better class of Greek tyrants. He gave Athens a mild rule, and under him the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He established religious festivals, adorned the city with splendid buildings, and is said also to have added to the embellishments of the Lyceum, a sort of public park just outside the city walls, which in after times became one of the favorite resorts of the poets, philosophers, and pleasure seekers of the capital.

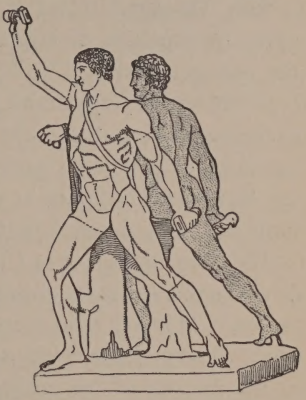

FIG. 47. — THE ATHENIAN TYRANNICIDES, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

Marble statues in the Naples Museum, recognized as ancient copies of the bronze statues set up at Athens in commemoration of the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus

165. Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). — The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus having insulted a young noble named Harmodius, this man, in connection with his friend Aristogiton and some others, planned to assassinate both the tyrants. Hipparchus was slain, but the plans of the conspirators miscarried as to Hippias. Harmodius was struck down by the guards of the tyrants, and Aristogiton was seized and put to death.

We have already spoken of how tyrannicide appeared to the Greek mind as an eminently praiseworthy act (sec. 153). This is well illustrated by the grateful and venerated remembrance in which Harmodius and Aristogiton were ever held by the Athenians. Statues were raised in their honor (Fig. 47), and the story of their

deed was rehearsed to the youth as an incentive to patriotism and self-devotion.

The plot had a most unhappy effect upon the disposition of Hippias. It caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed. With the help of the Spartans he was finally driven out of the city.

166. The Constitution of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). — Straightway upon the expulsion of Hippias there arose a great strife between the commons led by Clisthenes, who wished to conduct the government on the lines drawn by Solon, and the nobles, who aimed at the restoration of the old aristocratic rule. The issue was the triumph of the popular party. The constitution was now put into the hands of Clisthenes in order that he might mold it into a form still more democratic than that given it by Solon.

The most important of Clisthenes' measures was that by which he conferred Athenian citizenship upon *all the free inhabitants of Attica*.[6] This was what we should call an extension of the franchise. The measure made such a radical change in the constitution in the interest of the masses that Clisthenes rather than Solon is regarded by many as the real founder of the Athenian democracy.

167. Ostracism. — Among the other innovations or institutions of Clisthenes was the celebrated one known as *ostracism*. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand votes[7] cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was

[6] The population of Attica comprised originally four tribes (*φυλαί*.) In place of these (they were not dissolved but merely deprived of all political significance) Clisthenes formed ten new tribes in which he enrolled all the freemen of Attica, including, it would seem, resident aliens and emancipated slaves. These new tribes, which were practically geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of local subdivisions called *demes*, or townships. The *demes* constituting any given tribe were scattered about Attica. The object of this was to break up the old factions, and also to give each tribe some territory in or near Athens, so that at least some of its members should be within easy reach of the meeting place of the Ecclesia.

[7] Or possibly a majority of the votes cast in an assembly of not less than six thousand citizens. The authorities are not clear.

sought was written on a shell or a piece of pottery, in Greek *ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the term *ostracism*.

The design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of Pisistratus. It was first used to get rid of some of the old friends of the ex-tyrant Hippias whom the Athenians distrusted. Later the vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties, and thus merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor. No stigma or disgrace attached to him.[8]

168. Sparta opposes the Athenian Democracy.— The aristocratic party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans also viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and, inviting Hippias over from Asia, tried to overthrow the new government and restore him to power. But they did not succeed in their purpose, because their allies refused to aid them in such an undertaking, and Hippias went away to Persia to seek aid of King Darius. We shall hear of him again.

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Topics for Class Reports.— 1. Legends of Solon. 2. The Alcmæonidæ and the Delphian temple and oracle. 3. The constitution of Clisthenes. 4. The story of Athena and Poseidon. 5. The rebellion of Cylon.

[8] The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (418 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man, Hyperbolus by name, whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This, it is said, was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man or honor a bad one by a resort to the measure.

Hellenismos

FIG. 48. — GREEK WARRIORS PREPARING FOR BATTLE

CHAPTER XVI

THE PERSIAN WARS

(500–479 B.C.)

169. The Real Cause of the Persian Wars. — In a foregoing chapter we showed how the expansive energies of the Greek race, chiefly during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., covered the islands and shores of the Mediterranean world with a free, liberty-loving, progressive, and ever-growing population of Hellenic speech and culture. The first half of the sixth century had barely passed before this promising expansion movement was first checked and then seriously cramped by the rise of a great despotic Asiatic power, the Persian Empire, whose steady encroachments upon the Greek cities threatened to leave the Greeks no standing room on the earth. Here must be sought the real cause of the memorable wars between Hellas and Persia.

It will be recalled that the Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great. Of his various conquests it concerns us here to note only that of the Lydian kingdom (sec. 88). Upon the downfall of Crœsus the Greek cities of the Asian coast which had formed part of his kingdom hastened to offer submission to the conqueror, asking that they be allowed to retain all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Lydian monarchy. Cyrus refused their petition. Thereupon they closed their gates against him, and resolved to fight for their liberties. In a short time, however, all were reduced to submission. Many of the Ionians,

rather than live in Ionia as slaves, abandoned their old homes and sought new ones among the cities of dispersed Hellas. All the remaining inhabitants of the Asian Greek cities, together with those of the large islands of Chios and Lesbos, became subjects of the Persian king. Thus at one blow was the whole of the eastern shore of the Ægean, the cradle and home of the earliest development in Greek poetry, philosophy, and art, lost to the Hellenic world.

Under Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus, the Persian authority was extended over Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Greek colonies of the African shore. This was another severe blow to Greek interests and Greek independence. The naval armaments of all these maritime countries were now subject to the orders of the Persian despot, and were ready to be turned against those of the Greeks still free.

Then about the year 513 B.C. an immense Persian army, led by Darius I in person and aimed at the Scythians north of the Danube, invaded Europe. The outcome of this expedition was the addition of both Thrace and Macedonia, together with important islands in the Northern Ægean, to the Persian Empire, and in the advance of its frontier to the mountains which guard Greece on the north.

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The greater part of the shores of the Ægean was now in the possession of the Great King. That sea which had so long been the special arena of Greek activity and Greek achievement had become practically a Persian lake. Moreover, through the loss of the Hellespontine regions the Greeks were cut off from the Euxine, which had come to be such an important part of the Hellenic world. It was indeed a critical moment in the history of the Greek race.[1] As Ranke says, "It cannot be denied that the energetic Greek world was in danger of being crushed in the

[1] At the same time that the Greeks of the Eastern Mediterranean were thus falling under the yoke of the Persians, the Greeks in Sicily were being hard pressed by another barbarian people, the Phœnicians. The power of Carthage was rising, and the Greek cities of Sicily were just now engaging in a doubtful contest with her for the possession of the island. Thus all round the horizon threatening clouds were darkening the once bright prospects of the Hellenic world.

course of its vigorous development." Out of this situation arose the so-called Persian Wars.

170. The Ionian Revolt (500 B.C.).—The Greek cities reduced to servitude by Persia could neither long nor quietly endure the loss of their independence. In the year 500 B.C. Ionia became the center of a formidable rebellion against the Great King. The Athenians sent twenty ships to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen. Sardis was taken and burned (499 B.C.). Defeated in battle, the Athenians forsook their Ionian confederates and sailed back to Athens.

This unfortunate expedition was destined to have tremendous consequences. The Athenians had not only burned Sardis, but "had set the whole world on fire." When the news of the affair reached Darius at Susa, he asked, Herodotus tells us, who the Athenians were, and being told, took his bow and shot an arrow upward into the sky, saying as he let fly the shaft, "Grant, O Zeus, that I may have vengeance on the Athenians." After this speech, he bade one of his servants every day repeat to him three times these words: "Master, remember the Athenians."

Deserted by the Athenians, the only course left to the Ionians was to draw as many cities as possible into the revolt. In this they had great success. The movement became widespread and threatened the destruction of the Persian power in all those regions where its yoke had been laid upon the neck of once free Hellenes.

The military resources of the Great King were now collected for the suppression of the formidable rebellion. The Persian land and sea forces closed in around Miletus. After a long siege the city was taken. The most of the men were slain, while the women and children were transported beyond the Euphrates. The remaining cities of Ionia shared the fate of Miletus. They were sacked and destroyed, and the fairest of the boys and maidens were carried off for the service of the Great King. Also all the Greek cities on the European side of the Hellespont were taken and burned.

The first serious attempt of the enslaved Greeks to recover their lost freedom was thus suppressed. The eastern half of the

Greek world, filled with the ruins of once flourishing cities, and bearing everywhere the cruel marks of barbarian warfare, lay again in vassalage to the Great King. "The mild Ionian heavens did their part to heal the wounds: the waste places were again in time built upon, and cities, such as Ephesus, bloomed again in great prosperity; but as to a history of Ionia, that was for all time past" (Curtius).

171. **The First Expedition of Darius against Greece** (492 B.C.). — With the Ionian revolt crushed and punished, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for giving aid to his rebellious subjects. A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost (492 B.C.).

172. **Darius' Second Expedition** (490 B.C.). — Undismayed by this disaster, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade them help themselves to what earth and water they wanted.

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By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes, but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias (sec. 168). A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean towards the Grecian shores. After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens.

173. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — The Athenians made surpassing efforts to avert from their city the impending destruction. Instead of awaiting behind their walls the coming of the Persians, they decided to offer them battle in the open field at Marathon. Accordingly they marched out ten thousand strong.

While the Athenians were getting ready for the fight, a fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was hurrying with a message to Sparta for aid. In just thirty-six hours Phidippides was in Sparta, which is one hundred and thirty-five or forty miles from Athens. Now it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full of the moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, dared not set out upon a military expedition. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens after all was over.

The Platæans, however, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians on account of the protection they had accorded them against the Thebans, no sooner had received their appeal for help than they responded to a man, and joined them at Marathon with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers.

The battle was begun by the Athenians. The issue was for a time doubtful. Then the tide turned in favor of the Greeks, and the Persians were driven to their ships with great slaughter. Miltiades, the Athenian general who was in supreme command, at once dispatched a courier to Athens with intelligence of the victory. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but so breathless that, as the people thronged eagerly around him to hear the news he bore, he could merely gasp, "Victory is ours," and fell dead.

After threatening Athens with attack, but finding the Athenians ready to receive them, the Persians sailed away for the Ionian shore.

174. Results of the Battle of Marathon. — The battle of Marathon is justly reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks a turning point in the history of humanity. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of

the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should mark the future centuries of history. The tradition of the fight forms the prelude of the story of human freedom and progress.

Again, by the victory Hellenic civilization was saved to mature its fruit, not for Hellas alone but for the world. We cannot conceive what European civilization would be like without those rich and vitalizing elements contributed to it by the Greek, and especially by the Athenian, genius. But the germs of all these might have been smothered and destroyed had the barbarians won the day at Marathon. Ancient Greece, as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, would certainly have become what modern Greece became as a province of the empire of the Ottoman Turks.

The great achievement further inspired the Athenians with self-confidence. They did great things thereafter because they believed themselves able to do them. From the battle of Marathon dates the beginning of the great days of imperial Athens.

175. Themistocles and his Naval Policy; Aristides opposes him and is ostracized (483 B.C.). — Many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon had freed Athens forever from the danger of a Persian invasion. But there was at least one among them who was clear-sighted enough to see that that battle was only the beginning of a great struggle. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, farsighted, versatile statesman, who, in his own words, though "he knew nothing of music and song, did know how of a small city to make a great one." The policy he urged upon the Athenians was to strengthen their navy as the only reliable defense of Hellas against subjection to the Persian power.

Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. The contention grew so sharp between the two that ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a

stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.

176. Xerxes' Preparations to invade Greece. — As soon as news of the disaster at Marathon reached Darius he began preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. In the midst of these plans for revenge, as we have already learned, death cut short his reign. His son Xerxes succeeded him, and pushed forward with energy the preparations already begun. For eight years all Asia was astir.

While the land and sea forces were being gathered and equipped, gigantic works were in progress on the Thracian coast and on the Hellespont to insure the safety and facilitate the march of the coming hosts. It will be recalled that the expedition of Mardonius was ruined by the destruction of his fleet in rounding the promontory of Mount Athos (sec. 171). That the warships and transports of the present armament should not be exposed to the dangers of a passage around this projecting tongue of land, Xerxes ordered a canal to be dug across the neck of the isthmus. This great work consumed three years. Traces of the cutting may be seen to-day. At the same time Europe was being bound to Asia by a double bridge of boats across the Hellespont. This work was in the hands of Egyptian and Phœnician artisans.

177. Disunion of the Greeks; Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.). — Startling rumors of what the Persians were doing were constantly borne across the Ægean to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C., but owing to feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas

could be brought to act in concert. Argos would not join the proposed confederation through hatred of Sparta; Thebes, through jealousy of Athens. The Corcyræans promised to help, but they were not sincere. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, offered to send over a large armament, provided he were given the chief command of the allied forces. His aid on such terms was refused.

Thus, from different causes, many of the Greek cities held aloof from the league, so that only about fifteen or sixteen states were brought to unite their resources against the barbarians; and even the strength of many of the cities that entered into the alliance was divided by party spirit. Furthermore, the Delphian oracle was wanting in courage, if not actually disloyal, and by its timid responses disheartened the patriotic party.

The decision of the congress was that the first stand against the invaders should be made at the Pass of Thermopylæ. The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

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178. The Passage of the Hellespont. — With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census.[2] The enumeration completed, the immense army, accompanied along the shore by the fleet, marched forward through Thrace, and so on toward Greece.

[2] According to Herodotus, the land and naval forces of Xerxes amounted to 2,317,000 men, besides about 2,000,000 slaves and attendants. It is certain that these figures are a great exaggeration, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 600,000 men aside from attendants and camp followers.

179. **The Battle of Thermopylæ** (480 B.C.). — Leading from Northern into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or Hot Gates. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate the Olympian games, which their religious scruples would not allow them to postpone, they left this little handful of men unsupported to hold in check the great army of Xerxes until the festival days were over.

The Spartans could be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front, as the Grecian fleet prevented Xerxes from landing a force in their rear. Before attacking them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them." For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with whips. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed; even the Ten Thousand Immortals, the bodyguard of the Great King, were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek, Ephialtes by name, "the Judas of Greece," rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A byway leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained; but for him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defense of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, overwhelmed by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their comrades.

The fight at Thermopylæ echoed through all the after centuries of Grecian history. The Greeks felt that all Hellas had gained great glory on that day when Leonidas and his companions fell, and they gave them a chief place among their national heroes. Memorial pillars marked for coming generations the sacred spot, while praising inscriptions and epitaphs told in brief phrases the story of the battle. Among these was an inscription in special memory of the Spartan dead, which, commemorating at once Spartan law and Spartan valor, read, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands!" [3]

180. The Athenians abandon their City and betake themselves to their Ships. — Athens now lay open to the invaders. Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant."

But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others, that the oracle meant they should defend the Acropolis, which in early times had been surrounded with a palisade; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

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The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors. A few days later the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, and burned

[3] While Leonidas and his men were striving to hold the pass, the Greek fleet, stationed at Artemisium at the head of the island of Eubœa, was endeavoring to prevent the Persian fleet from entering the strait between the island and the mainland. For three days the Greeks fought here the Persian ships (the battle of Artemisium), and then, upon receipt of the news that the pass was lost, retreated down the Eubœan straits, and came to anchor in the gulf of Salamis, near Athens.

the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate and her temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged.

181. **The Naval Battle of Salamis** (480 B.C.). — Just off the coast of Attica lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet, awaiting the Persians. Xerxes, deceived by Themistocles respecting the state of things among the Greek allies, ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.[4]

The blow was decisive. Xerxes, fearing that treachery might destroy the Hellespontine bridges, instantly dispatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, the monarch with a strong escort made a hasty retreat into Asia.

182. **Mardonius tries to bribe the Athenians; the Battle of Platæa** (479 B.C.). — With the opening of the spring of 479 B.C., Mardonius sent an embassy to Athens, promising the Athenians many things provided they would come over to the Persian side. The Athenians' reply was, "While the sun holds his course in the heavens, we will never form a league with the Persian king."

Upon receiving this answer Mardonius, breaking up his winter camp in Thessaly, marched south, and, after ravaging Attica anew, withdrew into Bœotia. Sitting down in a fortified camp near Thebes, he awaited the coming of the Greeks. Here the Greeks confronted him with the largest army they had ever gathered.[5] In the memorable battle which followed, known as the battle of Platæa, Mardonius was slain and his army virtually annihilated.

183. **The Battle of Mycale** (479 B.C.). — Upon the same day, according to tradition, that the Greeks won the great victory over the Persian army at Platæa, their allied fleet gained another over a combined land and sea force at Cape Mycale in Ionia.

This victory at Mycale was a fitting sequel to the one at Platæa: that had freed European Greece from the presence of the

[4] The entire Persian fleet numbered about 750 vessels; the Grecian, about 380 ships, mostly triremes.

[5] There were 110,000 men, of which number 38,000 were hoplites. The Spartan Pausanias was in chief command.

barbarians; this, in the phrase of Herodotus, "restored to Grecian freedom the Hellespont and the islands." For straightway Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other islands of the Ægean that had been in vassalage to Persia were now liberated, and received as members into the confederacy of the patriot states of the mother land.[6]

184. Memorials and Trophies of the War. — The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout Greece. Poets, artists, and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Greeks think that the marvelous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Platæa; and upon the Acropolis at Athens was erected a colossal statue of Athena, made from the brazen arms gathered from the field at Marathon, while within the sanctuary of the goddess were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the impious attempt of the barbarians to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

Selections from the Sources. — ÆSCHYLUS, *The Persians;* an historical drama which celebrates the victory of Salamis. PLUTARCH, *Life of Themistocles* and *Life of Aristides.*

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 112–193, 209–238, and 271–331. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 492–521; vol. iv, pp. 102–201 and 242–294. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 74–139 and 175–205. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. i–iv. COX, G. W., *The Greeks and the Persians.* CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. i, "The Battle of Marathon." CHURCH, A. J., *Pictures from Greek Life and Story*, chaps. iii–viii; for youthful readers. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 223–241.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Delphian oracle in the Persian Wars. 2. Themistocles. 3. Incidents of the battle of Salamis.

[6] On the very day of the battle of Salamis, according to tradition, Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, gained a great victory over the Carthaginians under Hamilcar at the battle of Himera, in the north of Sicily. So it was a memorable day for Hellas in the West as well as in the East.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ATHENIAN SUPREMACY

I. The Making of the Athenian Empire (479–445 B.C.)

185. The Rebuilding of Athens; the Fortifications of the Piræus (478–477 B.C.). — After the battle of Platæa and the expulsion of the barbarians from Greece, the Athenians who had found an asylum at Salamis, Ægina, and other places returned to Athens. They found only a heap of ruins where their city had once stood. Under the lead of Themistocles, the people with admirable spirit set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes and erecting new walls.

The rival states of the Peloponnesian League watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. The Spartans sent an embassy to dissuade them from rebuilding their walls, hypocritically assigning as the ground of their interest in the matter their fear lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, should become a stronghold for the enemy. But the Athenians persisted in their purpose, and soon had raised the wall to such a height that they could defy interference.

At the same time that the work of restoration was going on at Athens, the fortifications at Piræus were being enlarged and strengthened. That Athens' supremacy depended upon control of the sea had now become plain to all. Consequently the haven town was surrounded with walls even surpassing in strength the new walls of the upper city. The Piræus soon grew into a bustling commercial city, one of the chief centers of trade in the Hellenic world.[1]

[1] A few years after this Themistocles fell into disfavor and was ostracized (471 B.C.). He finally bent his steps to Susa, the Persian capital. King Artaxerxes appointed him governor of Magnesia in Asia Minor and made provision for his

186. The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.). — Soon after the battle of Mycale the Ionian states, in order that they might be able to carry on more effectively the work to which they had set their hands, namely, that of liberating the Greek cities yet in the power of the Persians, formed a league known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies were excluded from the league on account of the treachery of the Spartan Pausanias, who had been in command of the allied fleet. All the Asian cities of Ionia and Æolis, almost all the island towns of the Ægean, the cities of Chalcidice, together with those just set free along the Hellespont and the Bosporus, became members of the alliance. The league was a free association of independent and equal states. Athens was to be the head of the confederacy. Aristides was chosen as the first president. Matters of common concern were to be in the hands of a congress convened yearly in the sacred island of Delos and composed of delegates from all the cities.

At Delos, also, in the temple of Apollo was to be kept the common treasure chest, to which each state was to make contribution according to its ability. What proportion of the ships and money should be contributed by the several states for carrying out the purposes of the union was left at first entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all possessed in his fairness and incorruptible integrity; and so long as he retained control of the matter, none of the allies ever had cause for complaint.

The formation of this Delian League constitutes a prominent landmark in Grecian history. It meant not simply the transfer from Sparta to Athens of leadership in the maritime affairs of Hellas. It meant that all the promises of Panhellenic union in the great alliance formed at Corinth in 481 B.C. had come to naught. It meant, since the Peloponnesian Confederacy still continued to exist, that henceforth Hellas was to be a house divided against itself.

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wants by assigning to three cities the duty of providing for his table: one was to furnish bread, a second wine, and a third meat. Plutarch relates that one day as the exile sat down to his richly loaded board he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died probably about 460 B.C.

187. The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire. — The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their allies to the condition of tributaries and subjects.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation consisted of ships for the larger states and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then, building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league — Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — still retained their independence. They alone of all the former allies did not pay tribute.

Even before the date last named (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and, diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the barbarians, but in the carrying on of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue. About this time also the congress probably ceased to exist. Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities was

converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master. Thus did Athens become a "tyrant city." From being the liberator of the Greek cities she had become their enslaver.[2]

188. Cimon and Pericles. — Two of the most prominent of the Athenian leaders at this time were Cimon and Pericles. Cimon, son of Miltiades, was one of the most successful of the admirals to whom, after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from them the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast. He was the leader of the aristocratic party at Athens, and the friend of Sparta. He was broad-minded, and his policy was the maintenance in Greece of a dual hegemony, Sparta being allowed leadership on land and Athens leadership on the sea.

Cimon was opposed by Pericles, who believed that such a double leadership was impracticable. The aim of his policy was to make the authority of Athens supreme not only on the sea but also on the land. The popularity of Cimon at last declined and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him. The fall of Cimon gave Pericles a practically free hand in the carrying out of his ambitious policy.[3]

189. Construction of the Long Walls. — As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to push to

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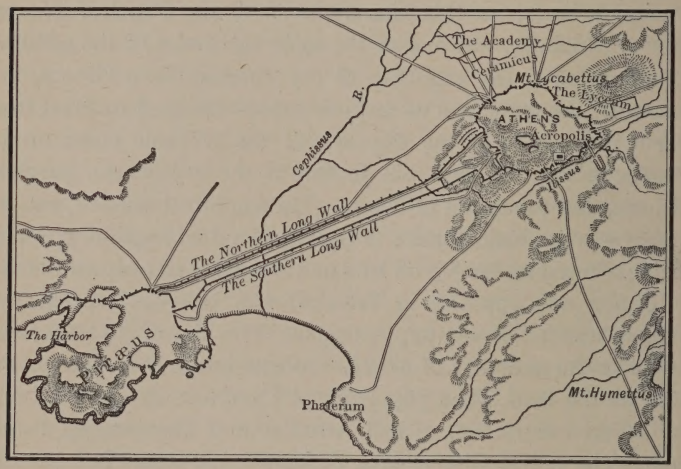
[2] Sentiment in most of the subject cities, it should be noted, was divided. While the aristocratic class was generally the bitter enemy of Athens, the lower classes were as a rule friends of the Athenian democracy. But the frequent revolts from Athens show how strong in most cases was the sentiment of home rule.

[3] At this time there were effected some important changes in the Athenian constitution, which made it almost purely democratic in character. These changes concerned the ancient council of the Areopagus. The great and patriotic services rendered by this council during the Persian Wars had given it a place of great influence and power during the years immediately following the battles of Salamis and Platæa. But public sentiment had now changed. The council was regarded by the democratic party with some such feelings of distrust as are entertained by the English Liberals towards the House of Lords. It seemed to them, as indeed it was, the stronghold of aristocratic prejudice and conservatism. The court was now stripped of important powers, which were conferred upon the various courts and boards of a popular character. This reform amounted to a revolution. It swept away the last bulwark against the inroads of the democratic spirit. Henceforth the Athenians were to be their own censors and judges as well as their own legislators.

completion what were known as the Long Walls (about 457–455 B.C.), which united Athens to the port of Piræus. By means of these great ramparts, which were between four and five miles in length, Athens and her principal port, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time



ATHENS AND HER LONG WALLS[4]

of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

190. **Pericles tries in vain to create a Land Empire; the Thirty Years' Truce** (445 B.C.). — At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As Athenian influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes, and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Bœotia.

[4] It is the opinion of Ernest Arthur Gardner, in opposition to the view which has been generally held, that there were only two walls, the one shown on the map as the southern being the so-called Phaleric Wall. See his *Ancient Athens*, pp. 56–59.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. It was ended by what is known as the Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By the terms of this treaty each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the subjects or allies of the other. The real meaning of the truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas.

II. The Age of Pericles (445–431 B.C.)

191. General Character of the Period. — The fourteen years following the Thirty Years' Truce are known as the Years of Peace. During all this period Athens was involved in only one short war of note. And not only was there peace throughout the empire of Athens, but also throughout the Mediterranean world, as happened again four centuries later in the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (sec. 397). And as that later period of peace marked the Golden Age of Rome, so did this earlier era mark the Golden Age of Athens.

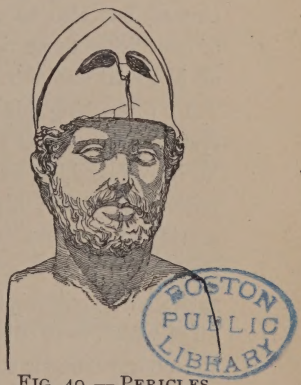


Fig. 49. — Pericles

The epoch, as we here limit it, embraced less than half the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more great men — poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers — than all the world besides has produced in any period of equal length.

Among all the great men of this age Pericles stood preëminent. Such was the impression he left upon the period in which he lived that it is called after him the Periclean Age. Yet Pericles' authority was simply that which talent and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch says, by the art of persuasion. His throne was the Bema.

The people were at this period the source and fountain of all power. Every matter which concerned Athens and her empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before in the history of the world had any people enjoyed such unrestricted political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well fitted to take part in the administration of government. As a rule, every citizen was qualified to hold public office. At all events the Athenians acted upon this assumption, as is shown by their extremely democratic practice of filling all the public offices, save a few in the army and navy, by the use of the lot.

192. Pericles takes the Citizens into the Pay of the State. — It was a fixed idea of Pericles that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes, but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these rights, together with an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments.

In promoting his views Pericles carried to great length the system of payment for the most common public services. Thus he introduced, or at least organized, the system of payment for military services; hitherto the Athenian, save probably as respects service in the fleet, had served his country in time of war without compensation. Through his influence also, or that of his party, salaries were, during this period, attached to the various civil offices, all of which were originally unpaid positions. This reform enabled the poorer citizens to offer themselves as candidates for the different magistracies, which under the earlier system, notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution, had been practically open only to men of means and leisure. The outcome of the policy of Pericles was that before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War almost every citizen of Athens was in the pay of the state. Aristotle says that more than twenty thousand were receiving payment for one kind of service or another.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovations which led Pericles to introduce or to extend the practice of supplying all the citizens with free tickets to the theater and other

places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense.

193. The Dicasteries. — Among the services for which the citizen received payment from the state was that rendered by the Athenian juryman in the great popular courts. These tribunals formed a characteristic feature of the Athens of Pericles.

Each year there were chosen by lot from those citizens who wished to serve on juries six thousand persons. One thousand were held in reserve; the remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections of five hundred each. These divisions were called *dicasteries*, and the members *dicasts*, or jurymen. The usual number sitting on any given case was between two hundred and four hundred. Sometimes, however, when an important case was to be heard, the jury would number two thousand or even more.

There was an immense amount of law business brought before these courts; for they tried not only all cases arising between the citizens of Athens, but attended also to a large part of the law business of the numerous cities of Athens' great empire. The decision of the jurors was final. The judgment of a dicastery was never reversed or annulled. The decisions of the dicasts were not always consonant with justice; but probably the verdicts were, on the whole, as just and reasonable as are those of the modern jury.

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194. Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. — Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire. Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of architecture that in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world.

The most noteworthy of the Periclean structures were grouped upon the Acropolis. Here, as the gateway to the sacred inclosure of the citadel, were erected the magnificent Propylæa, which have served as a model for similar structures since the time of Pericles. Here also was raised the beautiful Parthenon, sacred to the virgin

FIG. 50. — THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *G. Rehlender*)

goddess Athena. The architects of this building were Ictinus and Callicrates; the celebrated sculptures of the frieze were designed by Phidias. Near the temple stood the colossal bronze statue of Athena, — made, it is said, from the spoils of Marathon, — whose glittering spear point was a beacon to the mariner sailing in from Sunium.[5]

195. Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. — Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches Pericles says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea." And this was no empty boast. The Ægean had become an Athenian lake. Its islands and coast lands formed practically an Athenian empire. The revenue ships of Athens collected tribute from two hundred Greek cities.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the remarkable combination of material and intellectual resources which it exhibited. Never before had there been such a union of the material and the intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire.[6] Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus, while the drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[7]

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian Empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition

[5] For further details of these art matters, see secs. 239 and 245.

[6] "The average ability of the Athenian race [was], on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro. This estimate, which may seem prodigious to some, is confirmed by the quick intelligence and high culture of the Athenian commonalty, before whom literary works were recited, and works of art exhibited of a far more severe character than could possibly be appreciated by the average of our race, the caliber of whose intellect is easily gauged by a glance at the contents of a railway bookstall." — GALTON, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 342 (2d American ed., 1887); quoted by Kidd, *Social Evolution*, chap. ix.

[7] For short notices of these artists and poets, see secs. 245, 249, and 257.

to the deepest instinct of the Greek race, — to that sentiment of local patriotism which invested each individual city with political sovereignty (sec. 123). The so-called confederates were the subjects of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.[8] Naturally the subject cities of her empire — that is, the patriotic or home rule party in these dependent states — regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt and throw off the yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian Empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian Empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Aristides* and *Life of Pericles*. THUCYDIDES, i. 90–93; tells how Themistocles outwitted Sparta.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 353–459 and 460–641. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 330–437 and 438–533. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 243–415; and vol. iii, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. vii–xx. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chaps. viii and ix. COX, G. W., *The Athenian Empire* and *Lives of Athenian Statesmen*, "Aristeides," "Themistokles," "Pausanias," "Kimon." GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, sec. 5. BUTLER, H. C., *The Story of Athens*, chap. vii. ABBOTT, E., *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens*, chaps. x–xviii. GRANT, A. J., *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, chaps. vii, viii, and xii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Confederacy of Delos. 2. The end of Pausanias. 3. Aristides. 4. Athens' relations to the cities of her empire. 5. The buildings of Athens. 6. "A Day in Athens."

[8] The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR; THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

I. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.)

196. The Immediate Causes of the War. — Before the end of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Ionian Athens and Dorian Sparta and her allies broke out in the long and calamitous struggle known as the Peloponnesian War. One immediate cause of the war was the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyræans, in a quarrel between them and their mother city Corinth. A second proximate cause was the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, in Chalcidice. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian League, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by other states that had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was indorsed by the Peloponnesian Confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

197. The Peloponnesians ravage Attica (431 B.C.). — A Peloponnesian army was soon collected at the Isthmus, ready for a campaign against Athens. With invasion imminent, the inhabitants of the hamlets and scattered farmhouses of Attica abandoned

their homes and sought shelter behind the defenses of the capital. Into the plain thus deserted the Peloponnesians marched, and ravaged the country far and near. From the walls of the city the Athenians could see the flames of their burning houses, which recalled to the old men the sight they had witnessed from the island of Salamis just forty-nine years before, at the time of the Persian invasion. The failure of provisions finally compelled the Peloponnesians to withdraw from the country, and the contingents of the different cities scattered to their homes.

198. Funeral Oration of Pericles. — It was the custom of the Athenians to bury with public and imposing ceremonies the bodies of those slain in battle. After the burial of the remains, some person chosen by his fellow-citizens on account of his special fitness for the service delivered an oration over the dead, extolling their deeds and exhorting the living to an imitation of their virtues.

It was during the winter following the campaign we have mentioned that the Athenians celebrated the funeral ceremonies of those who had fallen thus far in the war. Pericles was chosen to give the oration on this occasion. This funeral speech, as reported by Thucydides,[1] is one of the most valuable memorials preserved to us from antiquity. The speaker took advantage of the occasion to describe the institutions to which Athens owed her greatness, and to picture the glories of the imperial city for which the heroes they lamented had died. He praised the Athenian government, in which all the citizens, rich and poor alike, had part. He praised, too, Athens' military system, in which the citizen was not sacrificed to the soldier, as at Sparta; and yet Athens was alone a match for Sparta and all her allies. He extolled the intellectual, moral, and social virtues of the Athenians, which

[1] Respecting the speeches which Thucydides introduces so frequently in his narrative, he himself says: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (Jowett's Thucydides, i. 15).

THE GREEK WORLD
at the beginning of the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
431 B. C.
In Italy and Sicily
Ionians
Æolians
Dorians
Roman Domain
In Greece and Asia Minor
Athens and her Allies
Sparta and her Allies
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles.
Authorities:–
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
C. Rinaudo, Atlante Storico
14 16 18 Longitude East 20 from Greenwich 22 24 26 28
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
THESSALY
EPIRUS
ACHÆA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
LACONIA
MESSENIA
ATTICA
BŒOTIA
EUBŒA
ÆTOLIA
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
DORIS
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
IAPYGIA
MAGNA GRECIA
ITALY
SICILY
CRETE
Ortona
Rome
Tiber
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Cyme (Cumæ)
Neapolis
Mt. Vesuvius
Posidonia (Pæstum)
Taras (Tarentum)
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Sybaris
Thurii
Iapygium Pr.
Crotona
Terina
Lipara Is.
Lipara
Panormus
Egesta (Segesta)
Himera
Messana
Naxos
Selinus
Mt. Ætna
Catana
Leontini
Acragas (Agrigentum)
Megara Hyblæa
Syracuse
Ortygia I.
Rhegium
Sicilian Straits
Caulonia
Locri
Corcyra
Corcyra
Ambracian Gulf
Anactorium
Leucas
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Pella
Methone
Pydna
Potidæa
Therma
Chalcidice
Acanthus
Olynthus
Amphipolis
Thasos
Samothracia
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Pelion
Larissa
Pharsalus
Mende
Scione
Torone
Lemnos
Scyros
Thermopylæ
Malis
Doris
Delphi
Phocis
Chæronea
Coronea
Thespiæ
Thebes
Platæa
Decelea
Megara
Corinthian G.
Leucas
Elis
Olympia
Sicyon
Nemea
Phliasia
Corinth
Argos
Epidaurus
Ægina
Athens
Mantinea
Tegea
Trœzen
Ithome
Thyrea
Sparta
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Cythera
Alpheus R.
Hellespont
Abydos
Lampsacus
Scepsis
Chersonesus
Ægospotami
Imbros
Byzantium
Selymbria
Perinthus
Chalcedon
Propontis
Aulis
Andros
Ceos
Tenos
Delos
Cythnos
Syros
Paros
Naxos
Siphnos
Melos
Thera
Amorgos
Icaria
Samos
Mt. Mycale
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Lindus
Rhodes
Carpathus
Cydonia
Cimonia
Mt. Ida
Gortyna
Methymna
Lesbos
Myrlene
Arginusæ Is.
Phocæa
Cyme
Magnesia
Hermus R.
Sardis
Clazomenæ
Chios
Colophon
Ephesus
Meander R.
Pergamus
Adramyttium
Troas
Lydia
Mysia
Æolis
Ionia
Caria
Phrygia
Cilicia
Lycia
Pamphylia
Pisidia
Lycaonia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Pontus
Armenia
Mesopotamia
Assyria
Babylonia
Susiana
Media
Parthia
Hyrcania
Persia
Arabia
Egypt
Libya
Carthage
Numidia
Mauretania
Gaul
Germania
Britannia
Hibernia
Italia
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicilia
Hispania
Mare Internum
Mare Magnum
Mare Rubrum
Euxinus Pontus
Palus Mæotis
Caspium Mare
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Arabicus
Nilus R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Caspius Mons
Taurus Mons
Hæmus Mons
Alpes
Pyrenæi Montes
Rhenus R.
Danuvius R.
Rhodanus R.
Padus R.
Tiberis R.
Hiberus R.
Tagus R.
Baetis R.
Nilus R.
Niger R.
Atlas Mons
Oceanus Atlanticus
Oceanus Britannicus
Oceanus Germanicus
Oceanus Indicus
Oceanus Persicus
Oceanus Arabicus
Oceanus Æthiopicus
Oceanus Meridionalis
Oceanus Occidentalis
Oceanus Septentrionalis
Oceanus Orientalis
Oceanus Australis
Oceanus Pacificus
Oceanus Magnus
Oceanus Indicus
Oceanus Atlanticus

were fostered by their free institutions, and declared their city to be "the school of Hellas" and the model for all other cities.

Continuing, the speaker declared that Athens alone of all existing cities was greater than the report of her in the world; and that she would never need a Homer to perpetuate her memory, because she herself had set up everywhere eternal monuments of her greatness. "Such is the city," he exclaimed impressively, "for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf."

FIG. 51. — THE SO-CALLED MOURNING ATHENA.[2] (From a photograph)

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Then followed words of tribute to the valor and self-devotion of the dead, whose sepulchers and inscriptions were not the graves and the memorial stones of the cemetery, — "for the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men," and the memorials of them are "graven not on stone but in the hearts of mankind." Finally,

[2] A bas-relief recently excavated on the Acropolis of Athens. Dr. Charles Waldstein thinks that this sculpture may "have headed an inscription containing the names of those who had fallen in battle, which record was placed in some public spot in Athens or on the Acropolis. Our Athene-Nike would then be standing in the attitude of mourning, with reversed spear, gazing down upon the tombstone which surmounts the grave of her brave sons." As to the possible connection of this relief with the funeral oration of Pericles, Dr. Waldstein says: "Though I

with words of comfort for the relatives of the dead, the orator dismissed the assembly to their homes.[3]

199. The Plague at Athens (430 B.C.); **Death of Pericles** (429 B.C.). — Upon the return of the next campaigning season the Peloponnesians broke once more into Attica and ravaged the land anew. The walls of Athens were unassailable by the hostile army; but unfortunately they were no defense against a more terrible foe. A pestilence broke out in the crowded city and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. The mortality was frightful. One fourth of the population of the city was swept away. In the third year of the war the plague reappeared at Athens. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens during all these dark days, fell a victim to the disease.

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell to a great degree into the hands of demagogues. The mob element got control of the Ecclesia, so that hereafter we shall find many of its measures marked neither by virtue nor by wisdom.

200. The Cruel Character of the War. — On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. As a rule, all prisoners taken on either side were killed. In the year 428 B.C. the Lesbian city of Mytilene revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon, a rash and violent leader, proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley dispatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mytilene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called, the barbarous vote was repealed, and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake

do not mean to say that the inscription which it surmounted referred immediately to those who had fallen in the campaign of 431 B.C., I still feel that the most perfect counterpart in literature is the famous funeral oration of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides."

[3] Thucydides, ii. 35–46, for the whole oration.

the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the execution of the cruel edict. The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first, was quite severe enough. Over one thousand of the nobles of Mytilene were killed, the walls of the city were thrown down, and the larger part of the lands of the island was given to citizens of Athens.

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the city of Platæa, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture land.

201. The Surrender of a Spartan Force; the Significance of this. — Soon after the affair at Mytilene and the destruction of Platæa, an enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege some Lacedæmonians, having landed upon an adjacent little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. After having made a splendid fight, they were surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered. They must now either surrender or die. They decided to surrender. Among those giving themselves up were over a hundred Spartans, some of whom were members of the best families at Sparta.

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The surrender of Spartan soldiers had hitherto been deemed an incredible thing. "Nothing which happened during the war," declares Thucydides, "caused greater amazement in Hellas; for it was universally imagined that the Lacedæmonians would never give up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand."

The real significance of the affair was the revelation it made of the relaxing at Sparta of that tense military discipline and spirit which had made for the Spartans such a reputation in the Hellenic world. It was the beginning of the end. In passing from Thermopylæ to Pylos we cross a great divide in Spartan history.

202. **The Peace of Nicias** (421 B.C.). — After four more years of fighting both sides became weary of the war. Negotiations for peace were opened, which, after many embassies back and forth, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, because of the prominent part that Athenian general had in bringing it about. The treaty provided for a truce of fifty years.

The Peace of Nicias was only a nominal one. Some of the allies of the two principal parties to the truce were dissatisfied with it, and so the war went on. For about seven years, however, Athens and Sparta refrained from invading each other's territory; but even during this period each was aiding its allies in making war upon the dependents or confederates of the other. Finally hostilities flamed out in open and avowed war, and all Hellas was again lit up with the fires of the fratricidal strife.

FIG. 52. — ALCIBIADES

203. **Alcibiades.** — It becomes necessary for us here to introduce a new leader of the Athenian demos, Alcibiades, who played a most conspicuous part, not only in Athenian but also in Hellenic affairs, from this time on to near the close of the war. Alcibiades was a young man of noble lineage and of aristocratic associations. He was versatile, brilliant, and resourceful, but unscrupulous, reckless, and profligate. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing escapades kept all Athens talking, yet seemed only to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. He was able to carry through the Ecclesia almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after

Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

204. The Sicilian Expedition (415–413 B.C.). — The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting of the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The resolution to engage in the tremendous enterprise seems to have been taken lightly by the Athenians, which was quite in keeping with their usual way of doing things. The vastness of the armament needed seemed to captivate their imagination. The expedition further presented itself to the ardent imagination of the youth as a sort of pleasure and sight-seeing excursion among the wonders of the land of the "Far West."

An immense fleet was carefully equipped and manned.[4] Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the departing ships until they were lost to sight. Could the anxious watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair: "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never to return."

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Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily, before Alcibiades, who was one of the generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.[5] Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned. The surest way, he told the Spartans, in which to wreck the plans of the Athenians was to send to Sicily at once a force of heavy-armed men, and above all a good Spartan general, who alone would be worth a whole army. The Spartans acted upon this advice and sent to Sicily their ablest

[4] It consisted of one hundred and thirty-four costly triremes, bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers and sailors.

[5] Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the numerous statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. Alcibiades was accused of having had a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked the sacred rites of the Eleusinian mysteries.

general, Gylippus, with instructions to push the war there with the utmost vigor.

The affairs of the Athenians in Sicily at just this time were prospering greatly. But the arrival of Gylippus changed everything at once. After some severe fighting in which the Athenians lost heavily, they resolved to withdraw their forces from the island while retreat by the sea was still open to them.

Just as the ships were about to weigh anchor, there occurred an eclipse of the moon. This portent caused the greatest consternation among the Athenian troops. Nicias, the general in chief command, unfortunately was a superstitious man, having full faith in omens and divination. He sought the advice of his soothsayers. They pronounced the portent an unfavorable one, and advised that the retreat be delayed thirty-seven days. Never did a reliance upon omens more completely undo a people. The delay was fatal.

Further disaster and a failure of provisions finally convinced the Athenians that they must without longer delay fight their way out by sea or by land. But already it was too late. The attempt to force their way through the enemy's fleet in the harbor failed dismally. There was now no course open save retreat by land. Making such preparations as they could for their march, they set out. Pursued and harassed by the Syracusans, the fleeing multitude was practically annihilated. The prisoners, about seven thousand in number, were crowded in deep, open stone quarries around Syracuse, where hundreds soon died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold as slaves. The tragedy of the Sicilian expedition was ended.

205. The Decelean War; the Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). — While the Athenians were before Syracuse, the Spartans, acting upon the advice of Alcibiades, had taken possession of and fortified a strong and commanding position known as Decelea, in Attica, only fourteen miles from Athens. This was a thorn in the side of Athens. Secure in this stronghold, the Spartans could annoy and keep in terror almost all the Attic plain. The occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point had such a determining

influence upon the remainder of the Peloponnesian War, that this latter portion of it is known as the Decelean War (413–404 B.C.).

With most admirable courage the Athenians, after the great disaster in Sicily, set to work to retrieve their seemingly irretrievable fortune. Forgetting and forgiving the past, they recalled Alcibiades and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians towards the spoiled favorite, — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

Alcibiades gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. The struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and, fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.[6]

Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont, the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartan general Lysander (405 B.C.). The native Athenians, to the number of four thousand it is said, were put to death, the usual rites of burial being denied their bodies. Among the few Athenian vessels that escaped capture was the state ship *Paralus*, which hastened to Athens with the tidings of the terrible misfortune. It arrived in the nighttime, and from the Piræus the awful news, published by a despairing wail, spread up the Long Walls into the upper city. "That night," says Xenophon, "no one slept."

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Besieged by sea and land, Athens was soon forced to surrender. Some of the allies insisted upon a total destruction of the city. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." The real motive of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful, and the leadership of Sparta be thereby endangered. The final resolve was that the lives of the Athenians should be spared, but that they should be required to demolish their Long Walls and those of the Piræus, to give up all their

[6] Some years later he was killed in Asia Minor.

ships save twelve, and to bind themselves to do Sparta's bidding by sea and land.

The Athenians were forced to surrender on these hard conditions. Straightway the victors dismantled the harbor at Piræus, burning the unfinished ships on the docks, and then began the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications, the work going on to the accompaniment of festive music and dancing; for the Peloponnesians, says Xenophon, looked upon that day as the beginning of liberty for the Hellenes.

The long war was now over. The dominion of the imperial city of Athens was at an end, and the great days of Greece were past.

206. The Results of the War. — "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the results of the Peloponnesian War, "never were so many cities captured and depopulated. . . . Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife." Greece never recovered from the blow which had destroyed so large a part of her population.

Athens was merely the wreck of her former self. The harbor of the Piræus, once crowded with ships, was now empty. The population of the capital had been terribly thinned. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion, when, with Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis, taunted with being a man without a city, could truthfully declare that Athens was there on the sea in her ships. Now the real Athens was gone; only the empty shell remained.

Not Athens alone, but all Hellas, bore the marks of the cruel war. Sites once covered with pleasant villages or flourishing towns were now plow and pasture land. The Greek world had sunk many degrees in morality, while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. The Spartan and the Theban Supremacy

207. Spartan Supremacy. — For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Grecian states. Throughout that struggle she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain for the Grecian cities the liberty of which she had deprived them. But no sooner was the power of Athens broken than Sparta herself began to play the tyrant. Aristocratic governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the old Athenian Empire. At Athens the democratic constitution under which the Athenians had attained their greatness was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government, were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat modified, was reëstablished (403 B.C.).

208. The Expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (401–400 B.C.). — One of the most memorable episodes of this period of Spartan supremacy was the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Cyrus, brother of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, and satrap in Asia Minor, feeling that he had been unjustly excluded from the throne by his brother, secretly planned to dethrone him. From various quarters he gathered an army of over a hundred thousand barbarians and about thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries. Setting out from Sardis, he had penetrated to the very heart of the Persian Empire before, at Cunaxa in Babylonia, his farther advance was disputed by Artaxerxes with an army numbering, it is said, eight hundred thousand men. In the battle which here followed the splendid conduct of the Greeks won the day for their leader. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the Greek generals, lured to a conference, were treacherously seized and put to death.

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The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing

march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister Greek colonies.

The march of the Ten Thousand is regarded as one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. Its historical significance is owing to the fact that it paved the way for the later expedition of Alexander the Great. This it did by revealing to the Greeks the decayed state of the Persian Empire, and showing how feeble was the resistance which it could offer to the march of an army of disciplined soldiers.

209. The Condemnation and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.). — While Xenophon was yet away on his expedition there happened in his native city one of the saddest tragedies in history. This was the trial and condemnation to death by the Athenians of their fellow-citizen Socrates, the greatest moral teacher of pagan antiquity. The double charge upon which he was condemned was worded as follows: "Socrates is guilty of crime, — first, for not worshiping the gods whom the city worships, but in introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth." The trial was before a dicastery or citizen court (sec. 193) composed of over five hundred jurors, and the sentence of death was pronounced by a majority vote.

It so happened that the sentence fell just after the sacred ship that yearly bore the offering to Delos in commemoration of the deliverance of the Athenian youth from the Cretan Minotaur (sec. 117) had set sail on its holy mission, and since by a law of the city no one could be put to death while it was away, Socrates was led to prison, and there remained for about thirty days before the execution of the sentence. This period Socrates spent in serene converse with his friends upon those lofty themes that had occupied his thoughts during all his life. When at last the hour for his departure had arrived, he bade his friends farewell, and then calmly drank the cup of poison.

210. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). — Throughout the period of her supremacy Sparta continued to deal most tyrannically with the other Greek cities. One of her worst crimes was the

treacherous seizure of the citadel of Thebes and the placing of a Spartan garrison in it. All Greece stood aghast at this perfidious and high-handed act, and looked to see some awful misfortune befall Sparta as a retribution.

And misfortune came speedily enough, and not single-handed. The Spartan garrison was driven out of the citadel by an uprising led by Pelopidas, a Theban exile of distinguished family. A Spartan army was soon in Bœotia. The Thebans met the invaders at Leuctra. The Spartans had no other thought than that they should gain an easy victory. But the military genius of the Theban commander, Epaminondas, had prepared for Hellas a startling surprise. Hitherto the Greeks had fought drawn up in extended and comparatively thin opposing lines, not more than twelve ranks deep. The Spartans at Leuctra formed their line in the usual way. Epaminondas, on the other hand, massed his best troops in a solid column, that is in a phalanx, fifty deep, on the left of his battle line, the rest being drawn up in the ordinary extended line. With all ready for the attack, the phalanx was set in motion first. It plowed through the thin line of the enemy "as the beak of a ship plows through a wave," — and the day was won. Of the seven hundred Spartans in the fight four hundred were killed. It was the first time that a Spartan army with its king had been fairly beaten in a great battle by an enemy inferior in numbers. The Spartan forces at Thermopylæ headed by their king had, it is true, been annihilated, — but annihilation is not defeat.

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The manner in which the news of the overwhelming calamity was received at Sparta affords a striking illustration of Spartan discipline and self-control. It so happened that when the messenger arrived the Spartans were celebrating a festival. The Ephors would permit no interruption of the entertainment. They merely sent lists of the fallen to their families, and ordered that the women should make no lamentation nor show any signs of grief. "The following day," says Xenophon, "those who had lost relatives in the battle appeared on the streets with cheerful faces, while those whose relatives had escaped, if they appeared in public at all, went about with sad and dejected looks." When

we contrast this scene at Sparta with that at Athens upon the night of the receipt of the news of the disaster of Ægospotami (sec. 205), we are impressed with the wide interval which separated the Athenian from the Spartan.

211. **The Theban Supremacy** (371–362 B.C.). — From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban supremacy. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of the camp fires of an enemy.

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival Sparta against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus. Upon his last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field Epaminondas led the Thebans once more to victory; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the states of Greece now lay exhausted, worn out by their endless domestic contentions and wars. There was scarcely sufficient strength left to strike one worthy blow against enslavement by the master destined soon to come from the North.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alcibiades.* THUCYDIDES, ii. 35–46; the funeral oration of Pericles. PLATO, *Apology*, xxxi–xxxiii; the bearing of Socrates before his judges.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. iii, pp. 321–413, and vol. iv. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vols. iv–vi, on the war; and vol. vii, pp. 81–172, on Socrates. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. iii–xii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xxi–xxviii. COX, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 104–594; and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Kleon," "Brasidas," "Demosthenes," and "Nikias." CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. ii, "Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, B.C. 413." SANKEY, C., *The Spartan and Theban Supremacies.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The debate in the Athenian assembly on the proposed Sicilian expedition. See *Thucydides*, vi. 8–23. 2. The siege of Platæa. 3. The trial and condemnation of Socrates.

CHAPTER XIX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(336–323 B.C.)

212. The Macedonians and their Rulers. — Macedonía was a country lying north of the Cambunian Mountains and back of Chalcidice (see map, p. 152). The people were for the most part mountaineers still in the tribal state. They were Aryans in speech, but since they did not speak pure Greek and were backward in culture, they were looked upon as barbarians by their more refined city kinsmen of the South. The ruling race in the country, however, claimed to be of genuine Hellenic stock, and this claim had been allowed by the Greeks, who had permitted them to appear as contestants in the Olympian games,— a privilege, it will be recalled, accorded only to those who could prove pure Hellenic ancestry.

213. Philip of Macedon. — Macedonia first rose to importance under Philip II (359–336 B.C.), generally known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of preëminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and of rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain. The art of war he had learned in youth as a hostage-pupil of Epaminondas of Thebes. The "Macedonian phalanx,"[1] which he is said to have originated, and which holds some such place in the military history of Macedonia as the "legion" holds in that of Rome, was simply a modification of the Theban phalanx that won the day at Leuctra and again at Mantinea.

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Greek states.

[1] The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

214. The Second Sacred War (355–346 B.C.). — Philip quickly extended his power over a large part of Thrace and the Greek cities of Chalcidice. Meanwhile he was, in the following way, acquiring a commanding position in the affairs of the states of Greece proper.

The Phocians had put to secular use some of the lands which at the end of the First Sacred War (sec. 130) had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, they took possession of the temple and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers. The Amphictyons, being unable to punish them for their impiety, were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

FIG. 53. — DEMOSTHENES (Vatican Museum)

The Phocians were now quickly subdued. All their cities save one were broken up into villages, and the inhabitants were forced to undertake to pay back in yearly installments the treasure they had taken from the Delphian shrine. The place that the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position he had now secured was just what Philip had coveted in order that he might use it to make himself master of all Greece.

215. Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). — Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist his encroachments. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans, aroused by the oratory of Demosthenes and by some fresh encroachments of Philip, united their forces, and met him upon the memorable field of Chæronea in Bœotia. The battle was stubbornly fought, but finally went against the allies. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece (338 B.C.).

216. Philip's Plan to invade Asia; his Death (336 B.C.). — Soon after the battle of Chæronea, Philip convened at Corinth a council of the Greek states. His main object in calling the congress was to secure aid in an expedition for the conquest of the Persian Empire. The exploit of the Ten Thousand Greeks had shown the feasibility of such an undertaking (sec. 208). The plan was indorsed by the congress. Every Greek city was to furnish a contingent for the army of invasion. Philip was chosen leader of the expedition.

All Greece was now astir with preparations for the great enterprise. In the midst of all Philip was assassinated, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power.

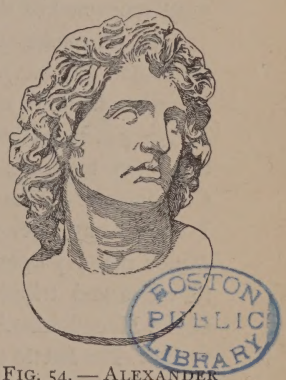
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FIG. 54. — ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Capitoline Museum)

217. The Youth of Alexander. — Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. The spirit of the man is shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories reached him: "Boys," said he to his playmates, "my father will get ahead of us in everything, and will leave nothing great for you or me to do."

Certain influences under which the boy came in his earliest years left a permanent impress upon his mind and character. By his mother he was taught to trace his descent from the great Achilles, and was incited to emulate his exploits and to make him his model in all things. The *Iliad*, which recounts the deeds of that mythical hero, became the prince's inseparable companion.

After his mother's influence, perhaps that of the philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip persuaded to become the tutor of the youthful Alexander, was the most formative. This great teacher implanted in the mind of the young prince a love of literature and philosophy, and through his inspiring companionship exercised over the eager, impulsive boy an influence for good which Alexander himself gratefully acknowledged in later years.

218. **The Destruction of Thebes.** — For about two years after his accession Alexander was kept busy in thwarting conspiracies and suppressing open revolts against his authority. Thebes having risen against him, he razed the city to the ground, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, and sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the most renowned of the cities of Greece blotted out of existence.

219. **Alexander crosses the Hellespont; the Battle of the Granicus** (334 B.C.). — Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C. he set out at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Crossing the Hellespont, he met on the banks of the Granicus a Persian army, over which he gained a decisive victory. All Asia Minor now lay open to the invader, and soon practically all of its cities and tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Macedonian.[2]

220. **The Battle of Issus** (333 B.C.). — At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander met another Persian army, numbering, it is said, six hundred thousand men, and inflicted upon it an overwhelming defeat. The king himself[3] escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital Susa to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

[2] At Gordium, in Phrygia, Alexander performed an exploit which has given the world one of its favorite apothegms. In the temple at this place was a chariot to the pole of which a yoke was fastened by a curiously intricate knot. An oracle had been spread abroad to the effect that whoever should untie the knot would become master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the knot, he drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," — meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

[3] Darius III, Codomannus (336–330 B.C.).

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221. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.). — Alexander now turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia. The island-city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. The causeway still remains, uniting the rock with the mainland. When at last the city was taken after a siege of seven months, eight thousand of the inhabitants were slain and thirty thousand sold into slavery. The reduction of Tyre has been pronounced the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

222. Alexander in Egypt. — From Syria Alexander marched down into Egypt. The Egyptians made no resistance to him, but willingly exchanged masters. While in the country, Alexander founded at one of the mouths of the Nile a city named after himself Alexandria. Ranke declares this to have been the "first city in the world, after the Piræus at Athens, erected expressly for purposes of commerce." The city became the meeting place of the East and West; and its importance through many centuries attests the farsighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his vanity, as well as to impress his new Oriental subjects, Alexander evidently desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus and the destined ruler of the world.

223. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — From Egypt Alexander retraced his steps to Syria and marched eastward. At Arbela, not far from the ancient Nineveh, his farther advance was disputed by Darius with an immense army, numbering, if we may rely upon our authorities, over a million men. The vast Persian host was overthrown with enormous slaughter. Darius fled from the field, as he had done at Issus, and later was treacherously killed by an attendant.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the

West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all Western Asia.

224. Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. — From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized incredible quantities of gold and silver ($57,000,000, it is said), the treasure of the Great King.

From Susa Alexander's march was directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance for all Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred and others sold into slavery, while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.[4]

Having thus overthrown the power of Darius, Alexander now began to regard himself not only as his conqueror but as his successor. He assumed the pomp and state of an Oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time forward intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.

225. Conquests in India. — With the tribes of what is now known as Afghanistan subdued, and the remote countries of Bactria and Sogdiana, lying north of the Hindu Kush, conquered and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains and led his army down into the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur at the length and hardness of their campaigns, and reluctantly he turned back. His return route lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Beluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings. After a trying and

[4] Read Dryden's *Alexander's Feast.*

calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, the trusted admiral of his fleet, whom he had ordered to explore the sea between the Indus and the Euphrates.[5]

226. The Plans of Alexander; the Hellenizing of the World. — As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates, for the reason that such a location of the seat of government would help to promote his plans, which aimed at nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of plants and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs and a common language were to unite the nations into one great family. Intermarriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III, and also another of Artaxerxes Ochus; to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

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227. The Death of Alexander (323 B.C.). — In the midst of his vast projects Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on doubtless by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battle-fields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried first to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there inclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

[5] Strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into. According to Arrian, when Alexander reached the Indus he at first thought that he had struck the upper course of the Nile (*Anabasis of Alexander*, vi. 1).

228. Results of Alexander's Conquests. — The remarkable conquests of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. First, they ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and Western Asia. It is particularly this spreading abroad of the culture of Greece which makes the short-lived Macedonian Empire of such importance in universal history.

Second, the distinction between Greek and barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the cosmopolitan creed of Christianity.

Third, the world was given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings.

But the evil effects of these conquests were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and the effeminate luxury of the Oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of classical antiquity was undermined.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alexander*. ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii. 9, Alexander's speech to his soldiers reminding them of the debt they owe to his father; and vii. 28–30, for an estimate of Alexander's character.

Secondary Works. — WHEELER, B. I., *Alexander the Great;* affords a most interesting and scholarly treatment of our subject. DODGE, T. A., *Alexander*. HOGARTH, D. G., *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Problems in Greek History*, chap. vii, "Practical Politics in the Fourth Century"; *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. viii; *The Story of Alexander's Empire;* and *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ii. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xiv–xxvii. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 681–836. CURTEIS, A. M., *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Imperialism *vs.* Home Rule; or, Was Demosthenes' policy of opposition to Philip wise? See Mahaffy's *Problems*. 2. Alexander as a god. Bring this into harmony with the ideas of the time, both in Greece and in Egypt. This is a subject for mature students.

CHAPTER XX

THE GRÆCO-ORIENTAL WORLD FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS

(323–146 B.C.)

229. Partition of Alexander's Empire. — There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is said that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation. Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by the wranglings and wars of his successors, and soon was broken into many fragments.[1] Besides minor states,[2] three kingdoms of importance rose out of the ruins, centering in Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt. All were finally overwhelmed by the now rapidly rising power of Rome. In the following sections we will merely indicate the fortunes of each, and add a word concerning the fate of the cities of Greece proper.

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230. Macedonia (323–146 B.C.). — Macedonia was one of the first countries east of the Adriatic to come in hostile contact with the great military republic of the West (secs. 350 and 352). After

[1] The important battle of this period was the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.

[2] Of these lesser states the following should be noted:

a. **Rhodes.** — The city of Rhodes, on the island of the same name, became the head of a federation of adjacent island and coast cities, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centers of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Cæsar and Cicero both studied here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

b. **Pontus.** — Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the luster shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithradates the Great (sec. 369).

much intrigue and a series of wars, the country was finally brought into subjection to the Italian power and made into a Roman province (146 B.C.).

231. Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.).— Under its first ruler this kingdom comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus Nicator (312–281 B.C.), besides being a ruler of unusual ability, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is declared to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as homes and centers of Hellenistic civilization.

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and became independent states.[3] Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.), called "the Great," raised the kingdom for a short time into great prominence; but finally the country was overrun by the Roman legions and was made a part of the Roman Republic[4] (63 B.C.).

232. Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323–30 B.C.). — The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I, surnamed Soter (323–283 B.C.), a companion of Alexander.[5]

[3] The most noteworthy of these was Pergamum, a state in Western Asia Minor which became independent upon the death of Seleucus Nicator (281 B.C.). Under the patronage of the Romans it gradually grew into a powerful kingdom. Its capital, also called Pergamum, became a most noted center of Greek learning and civilization, and through its great library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenistic world.

[4] Compare secs. 351 and 378.

[5] Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy had received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Phœnicia, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, Cyrene, and Cyprus.

Under Ptolemy, Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or lighthouse, — the first structure of its kind. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual center of the world, — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum,[6] a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established the renowned Alexandrian Library. He encouraged poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning to settle in Alexandria by conferring upon them immunities and privileges, and by gifts and a munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father. He added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him. It was under his direction that the translation into Greek of the Hebrew Testament was made (sec. 262).

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323–30 B.C.). The story of the beautiful but dissolute Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, belongs properly to the history of Rome, which city was now interfering in the affairs of the Orient. In the year 30 B.C., the year which marks the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was made a Roman province.[7]

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233. **Greece.** — From the subjection of Greece by Philip of Macedon to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were, much of the time, under the real or nominal suzerainty of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

6 "The Museum was the first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government; that was something great" (Holm).

7 Compare sec. 393.

A matter of special moment in the history of Greece during this period was an invasion of the Gauls (278 B.C.), kinsmen of the Celtic tribes that about a century before this time had sacked the city of Rome (sec. 316). These terrible marauders, pouring down from the north, ravaged Greece as far south as Delphi and the Pass of Thermopylæ. If we may believe the Greek accounts, they met with heroic resistance and were driven back with great loss. A little later some of the tribes settled in Asia Minor and there

FIG. 55. — THE DYING GAUL. (Capitoline Museum)

A memorial of the Gallic invasion of Greece in the third century B.C.

gave name to the province of Galatia. The celebrated Greek sculpture, *The Dying Gaul*, is a most interesting memorial of this episode in Greek history (Fig. 55).

234. **The Achæan and the Ætolian League.** — In the third century B.C. there arose in Greece two important confederacies, known as the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, whose history embraces almost every matter of interest and instruction in the later political life of the Greek cities.[8] These late attempts at federation among the Grecian cities were fostered by the intense desire

[8] The Achæan League (281–146 B.C.) was in its beginnings simply a revival of a very ancient religious union of the cities of Achæa, but finally embraced almost all the states of the Peloponnesus as well as some cities beyond its limits. It was one of the most successful efforts ever made to unite the Greek cities into a real federal state. The Ætolian League, established about 280 B.C., was composed not of cities but of tribes, — chiefly the half-civilized tribes of the mountainous regions of Central Greece.

of all patriotic Hellenes to free themselves from the hated arbitership of Macedonia. The Greeks had learned at last — but unhappily too late — that the liberty they prized so highly could be maintained only through union.

Both of the leagues were broken up by Rome. In the year 146 B.C. Corinth, the most important member of the Achæan League, was taken by the Romans, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the rich art treasures of the city sent as trophies to Rome, and its temples and other buildings given to the flames (sec. 353). Later, all Greece, under the name of Achæa, was reduced to the status of a province of the Roman Empire.

235. **Conclusion.** — We have now traced the political fortunes of the Greek race through about six centuries of authentic history. In succeeding chapters, in order to render more complete the picture we have endeavored to draw of ancient Hellas, we shall add some details respecting Hellenic art, literature, philosophy, and society. Even a short study of these matters will help us to form a more adequate conception of that wonderful, many-sided genius of the Hellenic race which enabled Hellas, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

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Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Philopœmen.*

Secondary Works. — HOLM, vol. iv; the best history in English of the period. GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East." MAHAFFY, J. P., *The Story of Alexander's Empire; Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest; A Survey of Greek Civilization*, chaps. viii and ix; and *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.* GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vii. FREEMAN, E. A., *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v–ix, gives with great fullness the history of the Achæan League. SAYCE, A. H., *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Lect. x, "The Place of the Egyptian Religion in the History of Theology." DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. viii, "Greek Education in Contact with the Great Eastern World." DRAPER, J. W., *Intellectual Development of Europe;* has an account of the Alexandrian Museum.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Museum and Library at Alexandria. 2. The Achæan League. See *Freeman* and *Greenidge.* 3. Daphne at Antioch. 4. Rhodes as a center of Hellenistic culture. See *Holm.*

CHAPTER XXI

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

236. Introductory: the Greek Sense of Beauty. — The Greeks were artists by nature. Everything they made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. "Ugliness gave them pain like a blow." Beauty they placed next to holiness; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and goodness the same thing. They are said to have thought it strange that Socrates was good, seeing he was so homely.

I. Architecture

237. Orders of Greek Architecture. — By the close of the sixth century B.C. Greek architecture had made great advance and presented three distinct styles or orders. These are known as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian (Fig. 56). They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and the ornamentation of the column.

The Doric column is without a base and has a perfectly plain capital. The Ionic column is characterized by the spiral volutes of the capital. This form was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name. The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the orders are happily suggested by the terms we use when we speak of the "severe" Doric, the "graceful" Ionic, and the "ornate" Corinthian.

Speaking of the place which these styles held in Greek architecture and have held in that of the world since Greek times, an eminent authority says, "We may admit that the invention and perfecting of these orders of Greek architecture has been (with

one exception — the introduction of the arch) the most important event in the architectural history of the world."

It was religious feeling which created the noblest monuments of the architectural genius of Hellas. Hence in the few words which we shall have to say about Greek buildings our attention will be confined almost exclusively to the temples of Greece.

238. **The Delphian Temple.** — One of the oldest temple sites in Greece was the spot at Delphi whence issued the mysterious vapors (sec. 126). In the year 548 B.C. the temple then standing

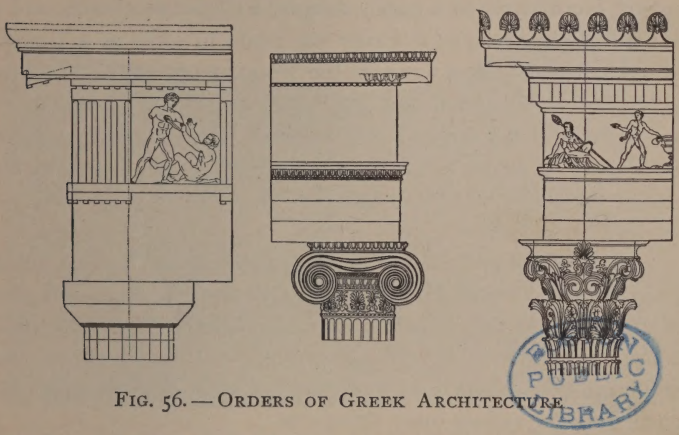

FIG. 56. — ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. The later structure was impressive both from its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art.[1] After remaining long secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, it finally suffered repeated spoliation. The Phocians despoiled the temple of a treasure equivalent,

[1] Besides being in a sense museums, the temples of the Greeks were also banks of deposit. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine. Usually the temple property in Greece was managed solely by the priests, but the treasure of the Parthenon at Athens formed an exception to this rule. The treasure

it is estimated, to more than $10,000,000 (sec. 214), and later the Romans seem to have stripped it bare of its art treasures.

239. **The Athenian Parthenon.** — We have already glanced at the Parthenon, the sanctuary of the virgin goddess Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens (sec. 194). This temple, which is built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus, is regarded as the finest specimen of Greek architecture. The art exhibited in its construction is an art of ideal perfection. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder magazine in a war with the Venetians in 1687. Unfortunately a bomb ignited the magazine, and more than half of the wonderful masterpiece was shivered into fragments. Even in its ruined state the structure constitutes the most highly prized memorial that we possess of the builders of the ancient world.

240. **Olympia and the Temple of Zeus Olympius.** — The sacred plain of the Alpheus in Elis was, as we have learned, the spot where were held the celebrated Olympian games. Here was raised a magnificent Doric temple consecrated to Zeus Olympius, and around it were grouped a vast number of shrines, treasure-houses, porticoes, and various other structures.

For many centuries these buildings adorned the consecrated spot and witnessed the recurring festivals. But in the fifth century of our era the Christian Emperor Theodosius II ordered their destruction, as monuments of paganism, and the splendid structures were given to the flames. Earthquakes, landslips, and the floods of the Alpheus completed in time the work of destruction and buried the ruins beneath a thick layer of earth.

For centuries the desolate spot remained unvisited; but late in the last century the Germans excavated the temple site and

here belonged to the state, and was controlled and disposed of by the vote of the people. Even the personal property of the goddess, the gold drapery of the statue, which was worth about $600,000, could be used in case of great need; but it must be replaced in due time, with a fair interest.

the sites of about forty other structures. The remains unearthed were of such an extensive nature as to make possible a restoration of the noble assemblage of buildings which we may believe re-creates with fidelity the scene looked upon by the visitor to Olympia in the days of its architectural glory (see Frontispiece).

241. **Theaters.** — The Greek theater was semicircular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The structure comprised three divisions: first, the semicircle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing place for the

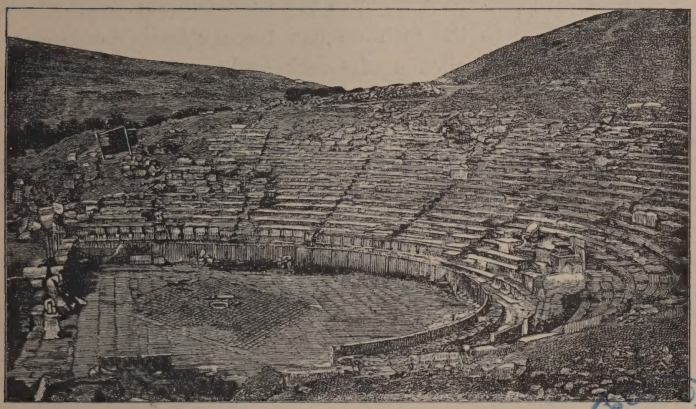

FIG. 57. — THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS
(From a photograph)

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chorus, which embraced the space between the lower range of seats and the stage; and third, the stage, a narrow platform for the actors.

The most noted of Greek theaters was the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was cut partly in the native rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theaters generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest, bordering the orchestra, consisting, in later times, of sixty-seven marble armchairs. The structure, it is said, would hold thirty thousand spectators.

II. Sculpture

242. Traces of Oriental Influence in Early Greek Art. — The earliest art in Greece to which we can without hesitation apply the term "Hellenic" exhibits distinct marks of Oriental influence. From both Egypt and Assyria the early Greek artist received models in gold, silver, ivory, and other material, decorative designs, and a knowledge of technical processes. From the beginning of the sixth century B.C. forward to the fifth we can trace clearly the growing excellence of Greek sculpture until it blooms in the supreme beauty of the art of the Periclean Age.

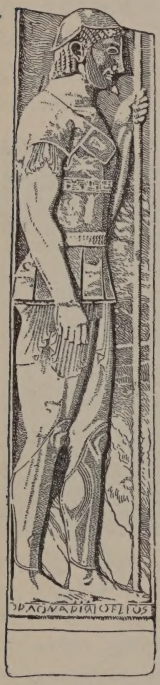

FIG. 58. — STELE OF ARISTION

Example of archaic Attic sculpture

243. The Archaic Period, down to the Persian Wars. — The oldest remains of Greek sculpture are specimens of carvings in relief. A good example of this archaic phase of Greek sculpture is seen in the tombstone of Aristion (Fig. 58), discovered in Attica in 1838. The date of this work is placed at about 550 B.C. A sort of Assyrian rigidity still binds the limbs of the figure, yet there are suggestions of the grace and freedom of a truer and higher art.

244. Influence of the Olympian Games and the Gymnasium upon Greek Sculpture. — Towards the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it became the custom to set up images of the victors in the Olympian games. Now in representing the figures of the gods it was thought, if not impious, at least presumptuous, to change materially the conventional forms; but in the representation of the forms of mere men the sculptor was bound by no conventionalism, being perfectly free to exercise his skill and genius in handling his subject. Progress and improvement now became possible.

In still another way did the Olympian contests and the exercises of the gymnasia exert a most helpful influence upon Greek sculpture. They afforded the artist unrivaled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says, "lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus, in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

FIG. 59. — THE WRESTLERS

"Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art" (sec. 129)

245. The Period of Perfection of Greek Sculpture; Phidias. — Greek sculpture was at its best during the last half of the fifth century B.C.[2] The preëminent sculptor of this period of perfection was Phidias. It was his genius which, as already mentioned, created the marvelous figures of the pediments and of the frieze of the Parthenon.[3]

FIG. 60. — HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS BY PHIDIAS. (From a coin)

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. The statue of Olympian Zeus was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high and represented the god seated

[2] Almost all the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors have perished; they are known to us for the most part only through Roman copies.

[3] The subject of the wonderful frieze was the procession which formed the most important feature of an Athenian festival celebrated every four years in honor of the patron goddess of Athens. The best part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been largely despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva.* To the poet Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.

on his throne. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.[4] The statue was in existence for eight hundred years. It is believed to have been carried to Constantinople and to have perished there in a conflagration in the fifth century A.D.

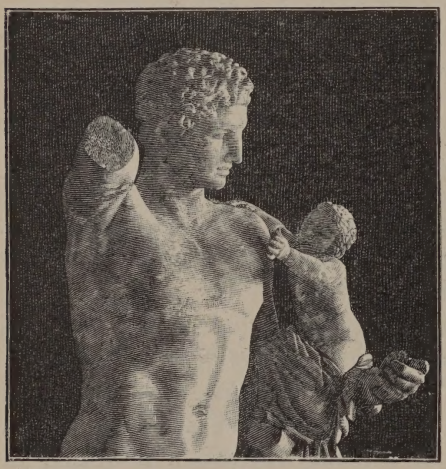

FIG. 61. — HERMES WITH THE INFANT DIONYSUS

An original work of Praxiteles, found in 1877 at Olympia

246. Praxiteles. — Though Greek sculpture attained its highest perfection in the fifth century, still the following century produced sculptors whose work possessed qualities of rare excellence. The most eminent sculptor of this period was Praxiteles (period of activity about 360–340 B.C.), of whom it has been said that he "rendered into stone the moods of the soul." Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the *Cnidian Aphrodite* and the *Hermes*. The last was set up at Olympia. To the great joy of archæologists this precious memorial of antiquity was discovered in 1877, so that now we possess an undoubtedly original work of one of the great masters of Greek sculpture (Fig. 61).

[4] "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the *Iliad* in the passage thus translated by Pope:

"He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the center shook."

BULFINCH, *Age of Fable*.

247. The School of Rhodes. — The Græco-Oriental period saw the rise at Rhodes, at this time the commercial emporium of the Eastern Mediterranean, of a celebrated school of sculpture. Very many of the prized works of Greek art in our museums were executed by members of this Rhodian school. One of the most noted of the Rhodian sculptors was Chares, the designer of the celebrated *Colossus of Rhodes* (about 280 B.C.). This work was reckoned as one of the wonders of the world.[5]

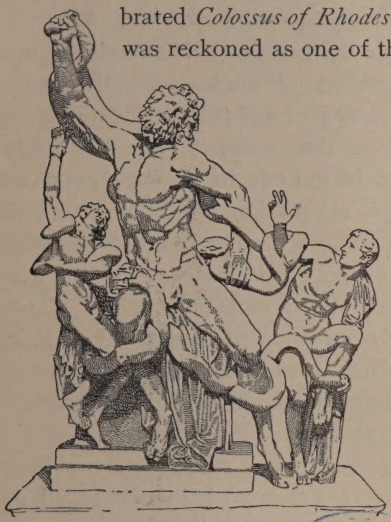

FIG. 62. — THE LAOCOÖN GROUP (Vatican, Rome)

FIG. 63. — NIKE OR VICTORY OF PÆONIUS (Found at Olympia)

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But the most remarkable piece of sculpture attributed to members of the school of Rhodes is the celebrated group known as the *Laocoön* (Fig. 62), found at Rome in 1506. The subject represented is the unjust punishment inflicted, through the agency of two serpents, upon Laocoön, a Trojan priest and seer, and his two sons, by some gods whom he had innocently offended. Of this masterpiece it has been said that "it expresses physical pain and passion better than any other existing group of statuary."

[5] The statue was not quite as large as the statue of Liberty in New York harbor. After standing about half a century, the Colossus was overthrown by an earthquake. Nine hundred years later it was broken up and sold for old metal.

III. Painting

248. Introductory. — The Greek artists never brought the art of painting to that perfection which they reached in sculpture. One reason for this was that paintings were never, like statues, objects of veneration; hence less attention was directed to them.[6]

Fig. 64. — Portrait in Wax Paint. (From the Fayum)

"These paintings [Fayum portraits] give us a better idea of what ancient painting was, and what a high state it must have reached in its prime, than anything yet known, excepting some Pompeian frescoes" (Petrie)

With the exception of antique vases, a few patches of mural decoration, some interesting portraits (Fig. 64), dating probably from the second century after Christ, found in graves in Lower Egypt, and colored sculpturings,[7] all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the description by the ancient writers of renowned works, and their anecdotes of great painters.

249. Polygnotus. — Polygnotus (flourished 475–455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." Of a Polyxena[8] painted by this great master it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

[6] The influence of religion upon the painter's art is illustrated by the Italian Renaissance, when painting entered the service of the Church.

[7] It is difficult for us to believe that the Greeks painted their statues and the surfaces of their stone buildings; but the recent discovery of statues and carved stones with the colors still upon them has placed the matter beyond all doubt.

[8] Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings.

250. Zeuxis and Parrhasius. — These great artists lived and painted in the later years of the fifth century B.C. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed," generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival; "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

251. Apelles. — Apelles, the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting and carried it to such a state of perfection that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "Art of Apelles." After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

Selection from the Sources. — PAUSANIAS, x. 25–31; description of the paintings of Polygnotus at Delphi.

Secondary Works. — COLLIGNON, *A Manual of Greek Archæology;* has valuable references in connection with each chapter. PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, 2 vols. GARDNER, E. A., *Ancient Athens* and *Handbook of Greek Sculpture.* MITCHELL, L. M., *History of Ancient Sculpture* (new ed.). MACH, E. VON, *Greek Sculpture: Its Spirit and Principles.* TARBELL, F. B., *A History of Greek Art.* BUTLER, H. C., *Story of Athens.* HARRISON, J. E., *Introductory Studies in Greek Art.* Teachers will enjoy PATER, W., *Greek Studies.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The relation of the art of the Mycenæan Age to that of the classical period in Greece. 2. The friezes of the Parthenon. 3. The Great Altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum. The remarkable sculptures of this monument were exhumed on the ancient acropolis of Pergamum during the years 1878–1886. The figures, which were in high relief and of colossal size, decorated the four sides of the substruction of a great altar dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer, in commemoration of the victory of the Greeks over the Gallic invaders of Asia Minor (sec. 233). The altar is supposed to have been built by King Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.). The subject of the sculpturings was the mythical contest of the gods with the earth-born giants, which struggle seemed to the Greeks the counterpart of their own terrific fight with the uncouth and savage Gauls. The reliefs are now in the Berlin Museum. 4. The influence of the gymnasium upon Greek art. 5. Greek painting as represented by the wax-paint portraits found in Egyptian cemeteries.

CHAPTER XXII

GREEK LITERATURE

252. The Greeks as Literary Artists. — It was that same exquisite sense of beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that made them also artists in language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues.

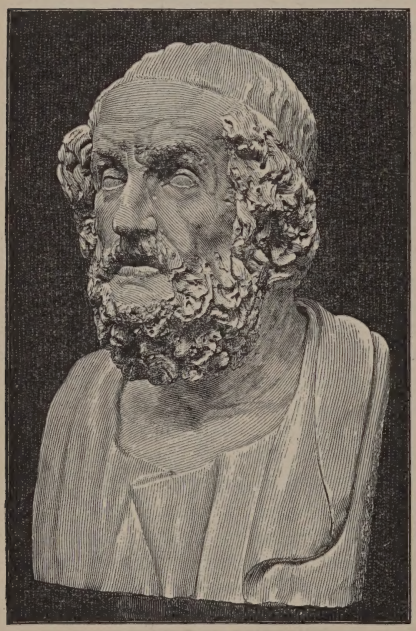

FIG. 65. — HOMER

253. The Homeric Poems; their Authorship. — The earliest specimens of Greek poetry, as we have already learned (sec. 133), are the so-called "Homeric poems," consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Until the rise of modern German criticism these poems were almost universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Tradition represents seven different cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace. He traveled widely (so it

was believed), lost his sight, and then as a wandering minstrel sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

But it is now the opinion of the majority of scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand to-day, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are believed to be the work of many bards. The "Wrath of Achilles," however, which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad*, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been the most prominent of a brotherhood of bards who flourished about 850 or 750 B.C.

254. **Hesiod.** — Hesiod, who is believed to have lived towards the close of the eighth century B.C., was the poet of nature and of peasant life in the dim transition age of Hellas. The Homeric bards sang of the deeds of heroes, and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men, and of everyday, present duties. His greatest poem is entitled *Works and Days*. This is in the main a sort of farmer's calendar, with minute instructions respecting farm labor, and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons.

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255. **Lyric Poetry: Pindar.** — As epic poetry, represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, was the characteristic production of the earlier part of the first period of Greek literature, so was lyric poetry the most noteworthy product of the latter part of the period. The Æolian island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of several of the earlier lyric poets. Among these singers was Sappho (about 610–570 B.C.), who was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer. Plato calls her the Tenth Muse. Although her fame endures, her poetry, excepting a few precious verses, has long since perished. Anacreon (period of poetical activity about 550–500 B.C.) was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies. Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.) lived during the Persian Wars. He composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest of all lyric poets of every age and race, was Pindar

(522--448 B.C.). He was born at Thebes, but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, or the Pythian games.

256. **Origin of the Greek Drama.** — The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus. Tragedy (goat song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village song) from the lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three, which last was the classical number.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character and, further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first the chorus was the all-important part; but later the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained at great expense, and the dialogue and choral odes formed the masterpiece of some great poet, — and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

257. **The Three Great Tragic Poets.** — There are three great names in Greek tragedy, — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian Wars. They drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other lands. Of the two hundred and more dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have escaped the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525–456 B.C.) knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian Wars, for he had fought at Marathon and probably also at Salamis. The

Athenians called him the Father of Tragedy. The central idea of his dramas is that "no mortal may dare raise his heart too high," — that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works. Another of his great tragedies is *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed. The theme of his *The Persians* was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride."

FIG. 66. — SOPHOCLES. (Lateran, Rome)

Sophocles (about 496–405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus. Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. He lived through nearly a century, — a century, too, that comprised the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas were perfect works of art.[1] The central idea of his pieces is the same as that which

[1] The chief works of Sophocles are *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, and *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the prehistoric royal line of Thebes.

characterizes those of Æschylus, namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than either Æschylus or Sophocles. His fame passed far beyond the limits of Greece. Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters his verses.

258. **Comedy: Aristophanes.** — Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). He introduces us to the everyday life of the least admirable classes of Athenian society. Four of his most noted works are the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Wasps*.

259. **The Three Great Historians.** — Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until two centuries or more after the composition of the Homeric poems, that is about the sixth century B.C., that prose writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued by ourselves.

Herodotus (about 484–425 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the Father of History. He traveled over much of the then known world, visiting Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia, and described as an eyewitness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity, — stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was overcredulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. The central theme of his great history is the Persian Wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece.

Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical writer. He held a command during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War, but having incurred the displeasure of the Athenians he was sent into the exile which afforded him leisure to compose his history of that great struggle. Thucydides died before his task was completed.[2] His work is considered a model of historical writing. Demosthenes read and reread his writings to improve his own style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

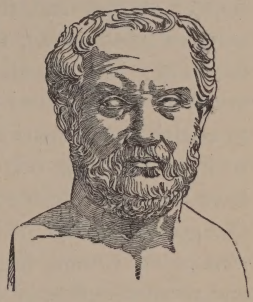

FIG. 67. — THUCYDIDES (National Museum, Naples)

Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sec. 208), and his *Memorabilia*, or "Recollections" of Socrates.

260. Oratory; Influence of Democratic Institutions. — The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the generally democratic character of their institutions. The public assemblies of the democratic cities were great debating clubs, open to all. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure preëminence. The great jury courts of Athens (sec. 193) were also schools of oratory; for every citizen there was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case. Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion.

261. Demosthenes; his Oration on the Crown. — It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence.[3] The

[2] His history breaks off abruptly in the twenty-first year of the war. The *Hellenica* of Xenophon forms a continuation of the interrupted narrative.

[3] Lysias (458–378? B.C.), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), and Isæus (b. about 420 B.C.) were all noted forerunners of Demosthenes.

labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success. Respecting the several orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon we have already spoken (sec. 215).

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians awarded to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines, along with other enemies of the orator, attacked this measure of the assembly and brought the matter to a trial. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens, as we have seen, was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the *Oration on the Crown*, has been declared to be "the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory." It was an unanswerable defense by Demosthenes of his whole policy of opposition to Philip of Macedon, and of his counsel to the Athenians to try doubtful battle with him on the fatal field of Chæronea (sec. 215). The refrain that runs through all the speech is this: It is better to have fought at Chæronea and to have left our dead on the lost field, than never to have undertaken battle in defense of the liberties of Hellas. It was ours to do our duty, the issue rested with the gods.[4]

262. **The Alexandrian Age** (300–146 B.C.). — Under the Ptolemies Alexandria in Egypt became the center of literary activity, hence the term "Alexandrian," applied to the literature of the age. The great Museum and Library of the Ptolemies afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world. But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty and the decay of faith in the old religion, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently the Alexandrian literature lacked

[4] It should be borne in mind that the oration was given in the year 330 B.C., when the Macedonian power was supreme, with Alexander lord of both the East and the West.

freshness and originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were commentators and translators.

One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the *Old Testament* of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint.*

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and preëminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian poet, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His idyls are charming pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

263. Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. — After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman period (146 B.C.–527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (d. 121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though it has reached us in a sadly mutilated state, is of great worth; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the greater part of the world he knew absorbed by the ever-growing power of the Imperial City.

Plutarch (b. about A.D. 40), "the prince of biographers," will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The *Antigone.* 2. The orators Lysias and Isocrates. 3. The Odes of Pindar.

CHAPTER XXIII

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

264. The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. — About the sixth century B.C. there lived in different parts of Hellas many persons of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the Seven Sages, who held the place of preëminence.[1] The wise sayings — such as "Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess" — attributed to them are beyond number.

While the maxims and proverbs ascribed to the sages, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, they do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

265. The Ionic Natural Philosophers; Thales. — The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginnings. The founder of the school was Thales of Miletus[2] (b. about 640 B.C.), the Father of Greek Philosophy.

Thales visited Egypt, and it is probable that what he learned there formed the basis of his work in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by means of their shadows.

Thales taught, as did the other Ionic philosophers, that there are four elements, earth, water, air, and fire. Out of these four elements all things in heaven and earth were supposed to be made.

266. Pythagoras. — Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of the "Samian sage." The most of his later years were passed at Croton, in Southern

[1] As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the World, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men.

[2] Other members of the school were Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

Italy, where he became the founder of a celebrated brotherhood or association. Legend tells how his pupils, in the first years of their novitiate, were never allowed to look upon their master; how they listened to his lectures from behind a curtain; and how in debate they used no other argument than the words *Ipse dixit* (He himself said so). It is to Pythagoras, according to the legend, that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

In astronomy the Pythagoreans — it is impossible to separate the teachings of Pythagoras himself from those of his disciples — held views which anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. They taught that the earth is a sphere, and that it, together with the other planets, revolves about a central globe of fire, "the hearth or altar of the universe."

267. Anaxagoras. — Anaxagoras (500–427? B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim. Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus. He suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me."[3]

268. The Sophists. — The Sophists were a class of philosophers or teachers who gave instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputation.[4] They traveled about from city to city, and contrary to the custom of the Greek philosophers took fees from their pupils. They were in general teachers of superficial knowledge, who cared more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed than for the

[3] In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists. Empedocles has been called the Father of the Evolution Idea.

[4] The most noted of the Sophists were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus.

thought itself. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

269. Socrates. — Volumes would not contain all that would be both instructive and interesting respecting the teachings and speculations of the three great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words.

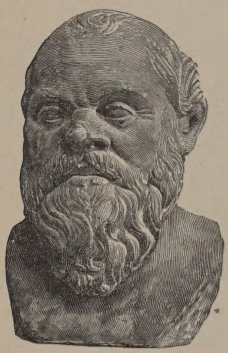

FIG. 68. — SOCRATES (National Museum, Naples)

Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was ugly as a satyr's, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils.[5]

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being, "Know thyself"; hence he is said to have brought philosophy from the heavens and introduced it to the homes of men. He taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought

[5] Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband, whose life at home she at times made very uncomfortable. Her name has been handed down as "the synonym of the typical scold."

himself to be restrained by a guardian spirit from entering upon what was inexpedient or wrong. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightingly of the temples and the popular deities. Of his prosecution and condemnation to death on the charge of impiety, and of his last hours with his devoted disciples, we have already spoken (sec. 209).

270. **Plato.** — Plato (427–347 B.C.), "the broad-browed," was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In foreign lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He finally returned to Athens and established a school of philosophy in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life — he died 347 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years — laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

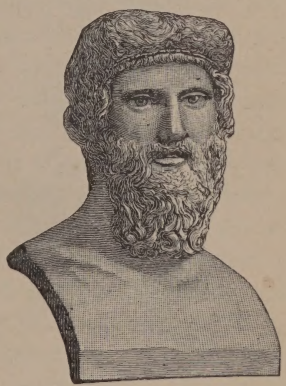

FIG. 69. — PLATO
(National Museum, Naples)

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his writings are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples, — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (postexistence) but also in preëxistence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our

intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.[6] Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become holy and just and wise."

271. Aristotle. — As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira, and hence is frequently called the "Stagirite."

FIG. 70. — ARISTOTLE
(Spada Palace, Rome)

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle accepted the invitation of Philip II of Macedon to become the preceptor of his son, the young prince Alexander (sec. 217). In after years Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, encouraged and aided him in his scientific studies by causing to be sent to him collections of plants and animals gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticoes of the Lyceum;

[6] In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of preëxistence:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home.

Ode on Immortality.

hence the term *peripatetic* (from the Greek *peripatein*, to walk about) applied to his philosophy.

Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

272. Zeno and the Stoics. — We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world. From among all the philosophers of this long period we can select for brief mention only a few. And first we shall speak of Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics,[7] lived in the third century before our era (about 340–265 B.C.). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples. The Stoics inculcated virtue for its own sake. They believed — and it would be difficult to frame a better creed — that "man's chief business here is to do his duty." They schooled themselves to bear with composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly. Thus

[7] The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a wine cask (*πίθος*), and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits.

a certain Stoic, when told of the sudden death of his son, is said merely to have remarked, "Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal."

Stoicism became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world.

273. **Epicurus and the Epicureans.** — Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, "Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness"; Zeno said, "Be virtuous, because you ought to be."

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the later corrupt period of the Empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. Allowing full indulgence to every appetite, their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

274. **The Neoplatonists.** — Neoplatonism was a blending of Greek philosophy and Oriental religious feeling. Its representatives were at one and the same time Greek thinkers and Hebrew seers. The center of this last movement in Greek philosophical thought was Alexandria in Egypt, the meeting place, in the closing centuries of the ancient world, of the East and the West.

Philo the Jew (b. about 30 B.C.), who labored to harmonize Hebrew doctrines with the teachings of Plato, was the forerunner of the Neoplatonists. But the greatest of the school was Plotinus (A.D. 204–269), who spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he was a great favorite.

While the Neoplatonists were laboring to restore, in modified form, the ancient Greek philosophy and worship, the teachers of Christianity were fast winning the world over to a new faith. The two systems came into deadly conflict. Christianity triumphed.

With the triumph of the Christian Fathers the work of the Greek philosophers, as living personal teachers, was ended; but their systems of thought will never cease to attract and influence the best minds of the race.

275. Science among the Greeks. — The contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences, basing their labors upon what had already been achieved by the Egyptians and the Chaldeans.

276. Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. — Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Soter, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools to-day. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry." In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced.

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277. Astronomy and Geography. — Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers the names of Aristarchus and Claudius Ptolemy are best known. Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. He compiled a vast work which preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects.

In this way it happened that the phrase "Ptolemaic System" became attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by Ptolemy. The conception of the solar system set forth in his works continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus, fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we to-day use to prove the doctrine.

278. **Medicine and Anatomy.** — Hippocrates (b. about 460 B.C.) did so much to emancipate the art of healing from superstition and ignorance, and to make it a scientific study, that he is called the Father of Medicine.

The advance of the science of anatomy among the ancient Greeks was hindered by their feelings respecting the body, which caused them to look with horror upon its deliberate mutilation. Surprising as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that Aristotle, "the greatest of all thinkers in antiquity, the son of a physician, especially educated in physical science, and well acquainted for the time with the dissection of animals, regarded the brain as a lump of cold substance, quite unfit to be the seat and organ of the *sensus communis*.[8] This important office he ascribed rather to the heart. The brain he considered to be chiefly useful as the source of fluids for lubricating the eyes, etc."[9]

Selections from the Sources. — PLATO, *Republic*, ii. 379 and 380, on God as the author of good; and *Phædo*, on immortality.

Secondary Works. — GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 65–94, Ionic philosophers and Pythagoras; vol. vii, pp. 32–172, the Sophists and Socrates. MAYOR, J. B., *Sketch of Ancient Philosophy*. TURNER, W., *History of Philosophy*, chaps. i–xx. DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. v; on the teaching of Socrates. TOY, C. H., *Judaism and Christianity*. FORBES, J. T., *Socrates*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Sophists. 2. Plato's *Republic*. 3. The Stoics.

[8] The thinking faculty, the mind.

[9] Ladd's *Elements of Physiological Psychology* (1887), p. 240.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS

279. Education. — Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair (sec. 140); but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

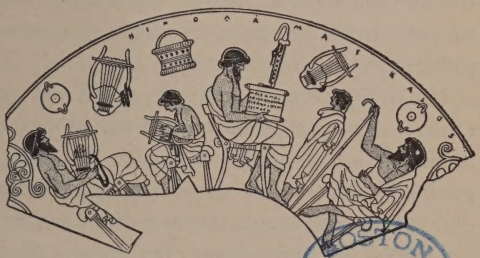
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FIG. 71. — A GREEK SCHOOL
(From a vase painting)

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy imagines, were "the most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully and delicately than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.[1] At about seven

[1] Infanticide was almost universally practiced throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas all turning upon points afforded by this common practice. The career of Sargon of Agade, of Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the Hebrew Moses, of Œdipus of Thebes, of Romulus and Remus of Roman legend, and a hundred others, are all prefaced by the same story of exposure and fortunate rescue.

he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave, who bore the name of "pedagogue," which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys, not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertainments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battlefield. The exercises of the palestræ and the gymnasia trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle struggles in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

Upon reaching maturity the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious possessions, the representations of an unrivaled stage, the Panhellenic games, — all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that "the average intelligence of the assembled Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons."

280. Social Position of Woman. — Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraitures of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman. Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between Oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

281. Theatrical Entertainments. — Among the ancient Greeks the theater was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (sec. 256), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals, — certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus, — and were attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, were, it would seem, permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was too gross to allow of their presence. The spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till nightfall.

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While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents a parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also the performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor, and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theater, were taken by men.

The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The sock being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient

comic actor, and the buskin that of the tragic actor, these foot coverings have come to be used as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden:

> Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
> Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.

The theater exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people; and later, when with the Macedonian the days of decline came, the stage was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek literary culture over the world.

FIG. 72. — A BANQUET SCENE

282. Banquets and Symposia. — Banquets and drinking parties among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainments among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guests in a reclining position, upon couches or divans arranged about the table in the Oriental manner. After the usual courses a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the "symposium."

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing

girls, jugglers, and jesters were called in to contribute to the merrymaking. The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his *Banquet* and Plato in his *Symposium* have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

283. Slavery. — There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement, — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

Slaves were very numerous in Greece. No exact estimate can be made of their number, but it is believed that they greatly outnumbered the free population. Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as a perfectly natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek philosophers approved the maxim that "slaves were simply domestic animals, possessed of intelligence."[2]

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[2] This harsh, selfish doctrine, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly, judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. Yet at Sparta, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the slave was peculiarly hard and unendurable.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could never have existed without it. Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal aristocracy of mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid whose top may be gilded with light while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with a crushing weight upon all the lower orders of Greek society.

Selections from the Sources. — ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, viii; on education. XENOPHON, *Symposium*, i and iv.

Secondary Works. — BLÜMNER, H., *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*. DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People* and *Ancient Educational Ideals*. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Social Life in Greece, Old Greek Education, Greek Life and Thought* (selected chapters), and *Old Greek Life*. GUHL, E., and KONER, W., *Life of the Greeks and the Romans* (first part). GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Home life of the Greeks. 2. Greek education. See Monroe's *Source Book in the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. 3. Daily life in Athens. 4. Greek slavery. 5. Marriage and funeral customs.

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slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail, — a sentiment which aided powerfully in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

Division III — Rome

CHAPTER XXV

ITALY AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

284. Divisions of Italy. — The peninsula of Italy, like that of Greece, may be divided into three parts, — Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the Po, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, — Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, which means "Gaul on this [the Italian] side of the Alps," and Venetia.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western or Tuscan Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the ancient districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria formed the "heel,"[1] and Bruttium the "toe," of the bootlike peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called *Magna Græcia*, or "Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its history been connected with that of the peninsula.

285. Mountains, Rivers, and Harbors. — Italy, like the other two peninsulas of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, has a high

[1] During the Middle Ages this name was transferred to the toe of the peninsula, and this forms the Calabria of to-day.

mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the peninsula. Eastward of the ancient Latium they spread out into broad uplands, which in early times nourished a race of hardy mountaineers, who incessantly harried the territories of the more civilized lowlanders of Latium and Campania. Thus the physical conformation of this part of the peninsula shaped large sections of Roman history, just as in the case of Scotland the physical contrast between the north and the south was reflected for centuries in the antagonisms of highlanders and lowlanders.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po, which drains the large northern plain, already mentioned, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among them the Aufidus, the Metaurus, and the Rubicon are connected with great matters of history.[2] Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one possessing the greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose.

The finest Italian harbors, of which that of Naples is the most celebrated, are on the western coast. The eastern coast has few good havens. Italy thus faces the west. What makes it important for us to notice this circumstance is the fact that Greece faces the east (sec. 113, n. 2), and that thus these two peninsulas, as the historian Mommsen expresses it, turn their backs to each other. This brought it about that Rome and the cities of Greece had almost no dealings with one another for many centuries.

286. Early Inhabitants of Italy. — There were in early times three chief races in Italy, — the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. The Italians, a branch of the Aryan family, embraced many tribes (Latins, Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, etc.), that occupied nearly all Central, and a considerable part of Southern, Italy.[3] Their life was for the most part that of shepherds and farmers.

[2] See secs. 342, 345, and 383.

[3] Notice carefully the large area covered by the Italian color on the accompanying map. The Italian race formed the best part of the material out of which the real Roman nation was formed.

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The Etruscans, a wealthy, cultured, and seafaring people of uncertain race and origin, dwelt in Etruria, now called Tuscany after them.[4] Before the rise of the Roman people they were the leading race in the peninsula. Certain elements in their culture lead us to believe that they had learned much from the cities of Magna Græcia. The Etruscans in their turn became the teachers of the early Romans and imparted to them at least some minor elements of civilization, including hints in the art of building and various religious ideas and rites.

With the Greek cities in Southern Italy and in Sicily we have already formed an acquaintance. Through the medium of these cultured communities the Romans were taught the use of letters and given valuable suggestions in matters of law and constitutional government.

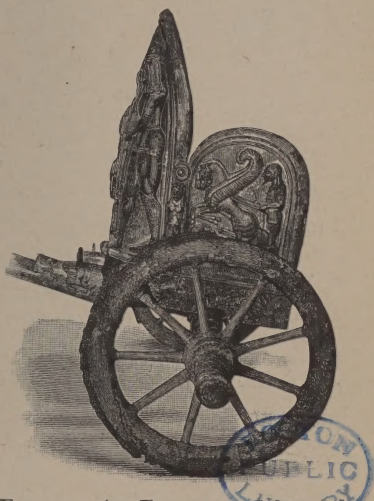

FIG. 73.—AN ETRUSCAN CHARIOT[5]
(From a photograph)

Some five hundred years B.C., the Gauls, a Celtic race, came over the Alps, and settling in Northern Italy, became formidable enemies of the infant republic of Rome.

287. The Latins. — Most important of all the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people, like all the Italians, were near kindred of the Greeks, and brought with them into Italy those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions which seem to have been the early common possession of the various Aryan-speaking peoples.

[4] In early times they had settlements in Northern Italy and in Campania.

[5] This interesting memorial of Etruscan art has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York at a cost of $48,000. It was found in an ancient Etruscan cemetery (1901). Almost every part of the chariot, including the wheels, was sheathed in figured bronze. The relic probably dates from the seventh century B.C.

According to tradition there were in all Latium in prehistoric times thirty towns or petty city-states. These had formed an alliance among themselves known as the Latin League. At the dawn of history the leadership in this confederacy was held by Rome, which was situated on a cluster of low hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. This little fortress town was intended doubtless as an outpost to protect the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans, the most powerful and aggressive neighbors of the Latin people.

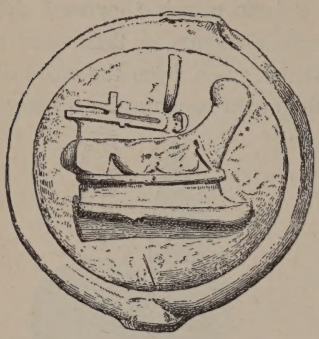

FIG. 74. — AN ANCIENT ROMAN COIN BEARING THE PROW OF A SHIP

From the use of this symbol on the city's money we may assume that commerce held an important place in the life of early Rome

Concerning the government and the religious and social arrangements of the Roman community, and concerning the fortunes of the city of Rome under its early kings, we shall give a brief account in the next chapter.

Selections from the Sources. — CICERO, *On the Commonwealth*, ii. 3–6. For additional selections for this and following chapters on the Republic and the early Empire, see Munro's *A Source Book of Roman History*. The teacher will find this admirable collection of extracts from the sources an invaluable aid in imparting a sense of life and reality to the story of ancient Rome.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. FREEMAN, E. A., *The Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7–9 and 43–49. TOZER, H. F., *Classical Geography*, chaps. ix and x. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. i and ii. SHUCKBURGH, E. S., *History of Rome*, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT, A. H., and MASOM, W. F., *Tutorial History of Rome*, pp. 1–18. DENNIS, G., *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, Introduction. The author probably exaggerates the debt which the early civilization of Rome owed to the preceding culture of Etruria.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Geographical conditions tending to make the history of Italy different from that of Greece. 2. Etruscan civilization. 3. The debt of Rome to Etruria. 4. Relation to Rome of the Greek colonies in Italy.

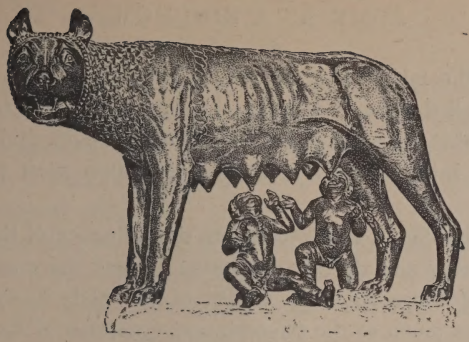

FIG. 75. — THE BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

CHAPTER XXVI

ROME AS A KINGDOM

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I. SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

288. The Roman Family; the Worship of Ancestors. — At the bottom of Roman society was the family. This was a very different group from that which among us bears the same name. The typical Roman family consisted of the father (*paterfamilias*) and mother, the sons together with their wives and sons, and the unmarried daughters. When a daughter married she became a member of the family to which her husband belonged.

The most important feature or element of this family group was the authority of the father. His power over each and all of its members was legally absolute. He could sell his wife or his son just as he could sell one of his slaves. He was the sole judge of the members of the family, and could put to death without appeal even a son grown to man's estate.

The father was the high priest of the family, for the family had a common worship. This was the cult of its dead ancestors (the Lares and Penates). The spirits of these were believed to linger near the old hearth. If provided with frequent offerings of meat and drink, they would, it was thought, watch over the living

members of the family and aid and prosper them in their daily work and in all their undertakings. If they were neglected, however, these spirits became restless and suffered pain, and in their anger would bring trouble in some form upon their undutiful kinsmen.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the family upon the history and destiny of Rome. It was the cradle of at least some of those splendid virtues of the early Romans that contributed so much to the strength and greatness of Rome, and that helped to give her the dominion of the world. It was in the atmosphere of the family that were nourished in the Roman youth the virtues of obedience and of deference to authority. When the youth became a citizen, obedience to magistrates and respect for law were with him an instinct and indeed almost a religion. And, on the other hand, the exercise of the parental authority in the family taught the Roman how to command as well as how to obey, — how to exercise authority with wisdom, moderation, and justice.

289. Dependents of the Family; Clients and Slaves. — Besides those members constituting the family proper there were attached to it usually a number of dependents. These were the clients and slaves. The client was a person standing to the head of the family, who was called his patron, in a relation which, in some respects, was like that of the mediæval serf to his lord. The class of clients was probably made up of homeless refugees or strangers from other cities, or of freed slaves dwelling in their former master's house. They were free to engage in business at Rome and to accumulate property, though whatever they gathered was legally the property of the patron.

The slaves constituted merely a part of the family property. There were only a few slaves in the early Roman family, and these were held for service chiefly within the home and not in the fields. It was not until later times, when luxury crept into Rome, that the number of domestic slaves became excessively great.

290. The Clan, the Curia, the Tribe, and the City. — Above the family stood the clan, or gens. This was probably in the earliest times simply the expanded family, the members of which had

outgrown the remembrance of their exact relationship. Yet they all believed themselves to have had a common ancestor and called themselves by his name, as, for instance, in the case of the Fabii, the Claudii, the Julii, and so on. The gens, like the family, had a common altar.

The next largest group or division of the community was the curia, which has been compared to the ward of the modern city. This was the most important political division of the people, as the family was the most important social group. It was so for the reason that levies for the army were made by curiæ, and that the voting in the primitive assembly of the people, as we shall explain presently, was done by these same bodies. There were thirty curiæ in primitive Rome.

Above the curiæ was the tribe, the largest subdivision of the community. In early Rome there were three tribes, each comprising ten curiæ.

These several groups made up the community of early Rome. This city, like the cities of ancient Greece (sec. 122), was a city-state, — that is, an independent sovereign body like a modern nation. As such it possessed a constitution and government, concerning which we will next give a short account.

291. The King and the Senate. — At the head of the early Roman state stood a king, the father of his people, holding essentially the same relation to them that the father of a family held to his household. He was at once ruler of the nation, commander of the army, and judge and high priest of his people. In theory his power was absolute. He was preceded by servants called lictors, each bearing a bundle of rods (the fasces) with an ax bound therein, the symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death.

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Next to the king stood the Senate, a body composed of the "fathers," or heads of the ancient clans of the community. This was the king's advisory council.

292. The Popular Assembly. — The popular assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the freemen of Rome. This was not properly a legislative body, but an assembly called together to hear

announcements as to festivals, to ratify the nomination of a new king, to witness wills, and to authorize certain public acts.

The manner of taking a vote in this assembly should be noted, for the usage here was followed in all the later popular assemblies of the republican period. The voting was not by individuals but by curiæ ; that is, each curia had one vote, and the measure before the body was carried or lost according as a majority of the curiæ voted for or against it.

It should be further noted that this assembly was not a representative body, like a modern legislature, but a primary assembly, that is, a meeting like a New England town meeting. All of the later assemblies at Rome were like this primitive assembly. The Romans never learned, or at least never employed, the principle of representation, without which device government by the people in the great states of the present day would be impossible. How important the bearing of this was upon the political fortunes of Rome we shall learn later.

293. The Patricians and the Rights of the Roman Citizen.—The heads of the ancient gentes at Rome, who constituted the Senate, were called *patres*, or "fathers," whence it probably came that all the members of these groups were called *patricians*. These patricians formed the hereditary nobility of the earlier Roman state. They alone possessed the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

And here we must acquaint ourselves with what the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship included. The rights of the Roman citizen were divided, first, into private rights and public rights.

The chief private rights were two, namely, the right of trade (*jus commercii*) and the right of marriage (*jus connubii*). The right of trade or commerce was the right to acquire, to hold, and to bequeath property (both personal and landed) according to the forms of the Roman law. This in the ancient city was an important right and privilege.[1] The right of marriage was the "right of contracting a full and religious marriage." Such a marriage could take place in early Rome only between patricians.

[1] In some modern states aliens are not allowed to acquire landed property; in Roman terms there is withheld from them a part of the *jus commercii*.

The three chief public rights of the Roman citizen were the right of voting in the public assemblies, the right to hold office, and the right of appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people.

Now in primitive Rome the patricians alone possessed all these rights of citizenship. Some of the private rights they shared with an inferior class in the state, as will appear in the following paragraph, but the political rights they jealously guarded as the sacred patrimony of their own order.

294. The Plebeians. — When Rome first appears in history, we notice a large class in the community, known as *plebeians* (from *plebs*, the multitude), who enjoy only a part of the rights of citizenship as given in the preceding section. The greater number of the plebeians were petty landowners, holding and tilling with their own hands farms of a few acres in extent in the near neighborhood of Rome. They possessed at least one of the most important rights of Roman citizenship, namely, the private right of engaging in trade. But from most of the other rights and privileges of the full citizen they were wholly shut out. A large part of the early history of Rome is made up of the struggles of these plebeians to better their economic condition and to secure for themselves social and political equality with the patricians.

II. Religion

295. The Chief Roman Deities. — The basis of the Roman religious system was the same as that of the Greek. At the head of the pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the city.

Mars, the god of war, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his

honor during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March.

Janus was a double-faced deity to whom the month of January was sacred, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state.

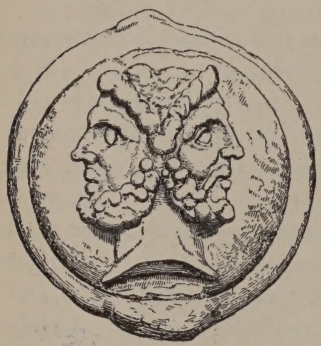

FIG. 76. — HEAD OF JANUS
(From a Roman coin)

296. Oracles and Divination. — There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans, therefore, often had recourse to those among the Greeks. Particularly in great emergencies did they seek advice from the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi. From Etruria was introduced the art of the haruspices, or soothsayers, which consisted in discovering the will of the gods by the appearance of the entrails of victims slain for the sacrifice.

297. The Sacred Colleges. — The four chief sacred colleges or societies were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Heralds.

The Sibylline Books were volumes written in Greek, the origin of which was lost in fable. They were kept in a stone chest in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple, and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger (sec. 335).

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices, — which were casual sights or appearances, particularly the flight of birds, — by which means it

was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the "taking of the auspices," as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without the auspices being first consulted to ascertain whether they were favorable. The public assembly, for illustration, must not convene, to elect officers or to enact laws, unless the auspices had been taken and found propitious.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair a certain bridge (*pons*) over the Tiber. To the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. The head of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*, or "Chief Bridge Builder," which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome, and thus has come down to our times.

The College of Heralds had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. Thus, if the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, and war was determined upon, then it was the duty of a herald to proceed to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurl over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war.

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298. Sacred Games and Festivals. — The Romans had many religious games and festivals. Prominent among these were the so-called Circensian Games, or Games of the Circus, which were very similar to the sacred games of the Greeks. They consisted, in the main, of chariot racing, wrestling, foot racing, and various other athletic contests. These festivals, as in the case of those of the Greeks, had their origin in the belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be appeased by such spectacles; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies.[2]

[2] The games were an entertainment offered to the guests [the gods, who were "the guests of honor"], which were as certainly believed to be gratifying to their sight as a review of troops or a deer hunt to a modern European sovereign. — WHEELER, *Dionysos and Immortality*, p. 11.

The *Saturnalia* were a festival held in honor of Saturn, the god of sowing. It was an occasion on which all classes, including the slaves, who were allowed their freedom during the celebration, gave themselves up to riotous amusements; hence the significance we attach to the word *saturnalian*. The well-known Roman carnival of to-day is a survival of the ancient Saturnalia.

III. Rome under the Kings (753?–509 B.C.)

299. The Legendary Kings. — The early government of Rome was a monarchy. The regal period, according to tradition, embraced nearly two and a half centuries (from 753 to 509 B.C.). To span this period the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings, — Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, both conquerors; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them blend hopelessly fact and fable. We cannot be quite sure even as to their names. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three rulers (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, the substantial truth of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following sections.

300. Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. — The Tarquins extended their authority over the whole of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was attended by the rapid growth of the city in population and importance. The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built, — tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius, — which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of seven hills on the south bank of the Tiber, whence the name that Rome acquired of "the City of the Seven Hills."

A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the *Cloaca Maxima*, an arched canal, which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber. The land thus reclaimed became the *Forum*, the public market place of the early city. At one end of this public square, as we should call it, was the *Comitium*, an inclosure where assemblies for voting purposes were held.

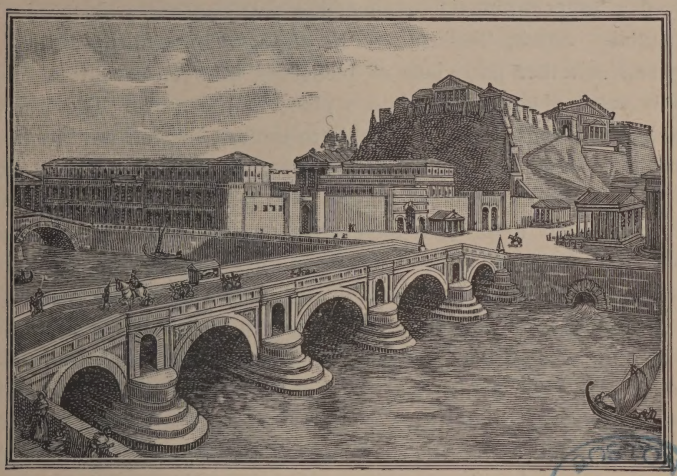

FIG. 77. — VIEW OF THE CAPITOLINE, WITH THE CLOACA MAXIMA. (A reconstruction)

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Standing on the dividing line between the Comitium and the Forum proper was the speakers' stand, later named the *Rostra*.[3] This assembling place in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

301. The Reforms of Servius Tullius: the Five Classes and the Four New Tribes. — It was the second king of the Etruscan house,

[3] So called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war galleys taken from enemies (sec. 319).

Servius Tullius by name, to whom tradition attributes a most important change in the constitution of the Roman state.[4] He did here at Rome just what Solon at about this time did at Athens. He made property and residence, instead of birth or membership in the patrician clans (sec. 293), the basis of the duties and consequently of the privileges of citizenship.

Up to this time service in the army had been the duty and the privilege of the patricians. But the growing state had come to need a larger military force than the patrician order alone could maintain. Servius Tullius increased the army by requiring all landowners, whether patricians or plebeians, between seventeen and sixty years of age, to assume a place in the ranks. The whole body of persons thus made liable to military service was divided into five classes according to the amount of land each possessed. The largest landowners were enrolled in the first three classes, and were required to provide themselves with complete armor; the smaller proprietors, who made up the remaining two classes, were called upon to furnish themselves with only a light equipment.

At the same time in place of the three old patrician tribes there were now created four new ones, each made up of the landowners residing in a given district. Though these new divisions of the population were called tribes, still they were very different in character from the earlier divisions bearing this name. Membership in one of the old tribes was determined by birth or relationship, while membership in one of the new tribes was determined by place of residence.[5]

302. The Army and the Comitia Centuriata. — The unit of the military organization was the century, probably containing at this time, as the name (*centuria*) indicates, one hundred men. Forty-two centuries were united to form the legion, which thus at this period probably numbered forty-two hundred men, its normal strength.

[4] The reform itself is an historical fact, but it is possible that it was not effected by the efforts of any particular king. It may have been the result of a long period of slow constitutional development.

[5] Thus these new tribes were like our wards or townships. As new territory was acquired by the Romans through conquest, new tribes were created, until there were finally thirty-five, which number was never exceeded.

The assembling place of the military classes was a large plain just outside the city walls, called the *Campus Martius*, or "Field of Mars." The meeting was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds." This body, which of course was made up both of patricians and plebeians as active members, came in the course of time to absorb most of the powers of the earlier assembly (*comitia curiata*).

303. Importance of the Servian Reforms. — The reforms of Servius Tullius were an important step towards the establishment of social and political equality between the two great orders of the state, — the patricians and the plebeians. The new constitution, indeed, as Mommsen says, assigned to the plebeians duties only, and not rights; but being called upon to discharge the most important duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded all the rights of citizens; and as the bearers of arms they were able to enforce their demands.

304. The Expulsion of the Kings. — The legends, as already noted, make Tarquinius Superbus the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to the Roman annalists, occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sec. 165).

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Romulus* and *Life of Numa*. In the case of these particular lives the student will of course bear in mind that he is reading Roman folklore; but it is worth while for the student of Roman history to know what the Romans of later times themselves believed respecting their early kings. LIVY, i and ii; a choice may be made among the early legends.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chaps. v–vii and xii, COULANGES, FUSTEL DE, *The Ancient City*, bk. ii, chap. i, "Religion was the Constituent Principle of the Ancient Family"; and chap. x, "The Gens at Rome and in Greece." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chaps. ii and iii. IHNE, W., *Early Rome*. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. ii and iii. MOREY, W. C., *Outlines of Roman Law*, chap. i, "The Organization of Early Roman Society." ABBOTT, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, chaps. i and ii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Roman family. 2. The worship of Vesta. 3. The Sibylline Books.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EARLY REPUBLIC; PLEBEIANS BECOME CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS

(509–367 B.C.)

305. Republican Magistrates: the Consuls and the Dictator. — With the monarchy overthrown the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king there were elected (509 B.C.) two patrician magistrates, called at first *prætors*, or "leaders," but later, *consuls*, or "colleagues." These magistrates were chosen for one year, and were invested at first with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been exercised by the king. In public each consul was attended, as the king had been, by twelve lictors, bearing the "dread fasces" (sec. 291).

Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. This division of authority weakened the executive, so that in times of great public danger it was necessary to supersede the consuls by the appointment of a special officer bearing the title of *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the king had been. The dictator always named as his lieutenant and representative a magistrate known as "master of the horse" (*magister equitum*).

A consul could not be impeached, or reached by any legal process, while in office; but after the expiration of his term he could be prosecuted for any misconduct while holding his magistracy. This rule was applied to all the other magistrates of the Republic.

306. First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.). — Taking advantage of the disorders which followed the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Latin towns rose in revolt, with the result that almost all the conquests that had been made under the kings were lost. Troubles without brought troubles within. The poor plebeians during this

period of disorder fell in debt to the wealthy class, and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.

The situation was intolerable. The plebeians resolved to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, known afterwards as the Sacred Mount. Having on one occasion been called to arms to repel an invasion, they refused to march out against the enemy, but instead marched away in a body from Rome to the spot selected beforehand, and began to make preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

FIG. 78. — LICTORS WITH FASCES

The symbolic fasces borne by these officers were probably of Etruscan origin. The Tarquins are said to have brought them to Rome along with other insignia of the kingly office

307. The Covenant and the Tribunes. — The patricians well knew that such a division would prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. A commission was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obdurate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, who made use of the well-known fable of the body and the members.

The following covenant was entered into and bound by the most solemn oaths: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be canceled and debtors held in slavery set free; and there were to be chosen two plebeian magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called *tribunes*, whose duty it should be to watch over and protect the plebeians.

That the tribunes might be the protectors of the plebeians in something more than name, they were invested with an extraordinary power known as the *jus auxilii*, "the right of aid"; that is, they were given the right, should any patrician magistrate attempt to deal wrongfully with a plebeian, to annul his act or stop his proceeding.

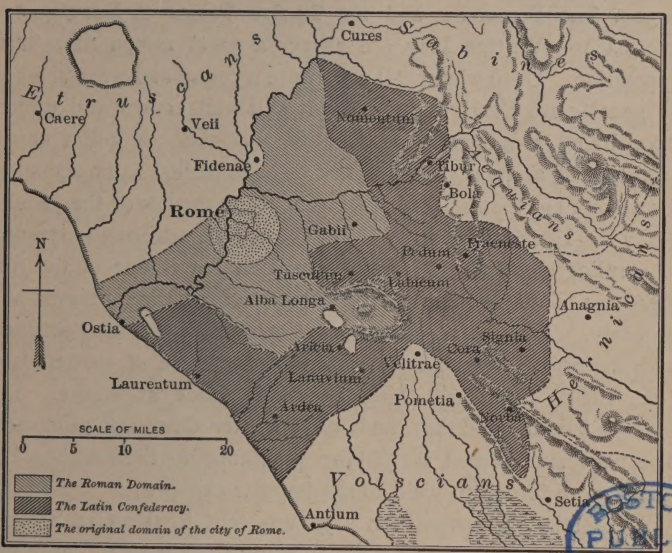
The persons of the tribunes were made sacrosanct, that is, inviolable, like the persons of heralds. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

The tribunes were attended and aided by officers called *ædiles*, who were elected from the plebeian order, and, like the tribunes, invested with a sacrosanct character. Among their duties was the care of the streets and markets and of the public archives.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this establishment of the plebeian tribunate. Under the protection and leadership of the tribunes, who were themselves protected by oaths of inviolable sanctity, the plebeians carried on a struggle for a share in the offices and dignities of the state which never ceased until the Roman government, as yet only republican in name, became in fact a real democracy, in which patrician and plebeian shared equally in all emoluments and privileges.

308. **Border Wars and Border Tales; Cincinnatus.** — The chief enemies of early Rome and her Latin allies were the Volscians, the Æquians, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. For more than a hundred years after the founding of the Republic, Rome, either

alone or in connection with her confederates, was almost constantly fighting one or another or all of these peoples. But these operations cannot be regarded as real wars. They were, on both sides, for the most part mere plundering forays or cattle-raiding expeditions into the enemy's territories. We shall probably not get a wrong idea of their real character if we liken them to the early so-called border wars between England and Scotland. Like



THE ROMAN DOMAIN AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY IN THE TIME OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, ABOUT 450 B.C.

the Scottish wars, they were embellished by the Roman story-tellers with the most picturesque tales. One of the best known of these is that of Cincinnatus.

According to the tradition, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, the Æquians defeated the forces of the other and shut them up in a narrow valley whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city. The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator.

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The commissioners who carried to him the message from the Senate found him upon his little farm across the Tiber, at work plowing. Cincinnatus at once accepted the office, gathered the Roman army, surrounded and captured the enemy, and sent them all beneath the yoke.[1] He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, having held it only sixteen days, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

309. The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of Laws (451–450 B.C.).—Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what either the law or the penalty really is. Hence in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of a ruling class, the demand for written law is one of the first measures taken by them for the protection of their persons and property. Thus the commons of Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanded and obtained a code of written laws (sec. 162). The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that the laws be written down and published. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission, so tradition says, was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study their laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, known as *decemvirs*, was appointed to frame a code of laws (451 B.C.). These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their consuls, and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year the task of the board was far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. The code was soon

[1] This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third spear. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the Rostra, or orator's platform in the Forum, where they might be seen and read by all.

Only a few fragments of these celebrated laws have been preserved, but the substance of a considerable part of the code is known to us through the allusions to it in the works of later writers and jurists. The provisions regarding the treatment of debtors are noteworthy. The law provided that, after the lapse of a certain number of days of grace, the creditor of a delinquent debtor might either put him in the stocks or in chains, sell him to any stranger resident beyond the Tiber, or put him to death. In case of there being several creditors the law provided as follows: "After the third market day his [the debtor's] body may be divided." We are informed by later Roman writers that this savage provision of the law was, as a matter of fact, never carried into effect.

Touching the power of the father over his sons the law provided that "during their whole life he shall have the right to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell, or to slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices."

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth, — every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

310. Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs; Second Secession of the Plebeians (450 B.C.). — The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of a certain Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. The result was a second secession of the plebeians to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored.

311. The Valerio-Horatian Laws; "the Roman Magna Carta" (449 B.C.). — The consuls chosen were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who secured the passage of certain laws, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws, which were of such constitutional importance that they have been called "the Magna Carta of Rome." Among the important provisions of the laws was the following: That the resolutions (*plebiscita*) passed by the plebeian assembly of tribes[2] should in the future have the force of laws and should bind the whole people the same as the resolutions of the *comitia centuriata*. Hitherto these resolutions had possessed no force save as expressions of opinion, like the resolutions of a mass meeting among ourselves.

312. Marriages between Patricians and Plebeians made Legal (445 B.C.). — Up to this time the plebeians had not been allowed to contract legal marriages with the patricians. But only three or four years after the passing of the Valerio-Horatian Laws, the tribune Gaius Canuleius carried a resolution known as the Canuleian Law, whereby marriages between the plebeians and the patricians were legalized. This law established social equality between the two orders.

313. Military Tribunes with Consular Power (444 B.C.). — This same tribune also brought forward another proposal, which provided that plebeians *might* be chosen as consuls. This suggestion led to a violent contention between the two orders. The issue of the matter was a compromise. It was agreed that, in place of the two patrician consuls, the people might elect from either order magistrates that should be known as "military tribunes with consular powers." These officers, whose number varied, differed from consuls more in name than in functions or in authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the consular office but not the consular name.

The patricians were especially unwilling that any plebeian should bear the title of consul, for the reason that an ex-consul enjoyed certain dignities and honors, such as the right to wear a particular kind of dress and to set up in his house images of

[2] The *concilium tributum plebis*. The origin of this assembly is obscure.

his ancestors. These honorary distinctions the higher order wished to retain exclusively for themselves.

314. The Censors (443 B.C.). — No sooner had the plebeians secured the right of admission to the military tribunate with consular powers, than the patricians began scheming to rob them of the fruit of their victory. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called *censors*.

The functions of these magistrates were many and important. They could, for immorality or any improper conduct, degrade a knight from his rank, expel a member from the Senate, or deprive any citizen of his vote by striking his name from the roll of the tribes. It was their duty to rebuke ostentation and extravagance in living, and in particular to watch over the morals of the young. From the name of these Roman officers comes our word *censorious*, meaning fault-finding.

FIG. 79. — ROMAN SOLDIER

315. Siege and Capture of Veii (405–396 B.C.); **the Romanization of Southern Etruria.** — We must now turn our attention once more to the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. The war finally gathered around Veii, the largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. According to the tradition, the Romans, like the Greeks at Troy, laid siege to this city for ten years. The place was at length taken and the spoils carried to Rome.

The siege of Veii forms a sort of landmark in the military history of Rome. The length of the siege and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, winter and summer alike, led to the introduction of pay into the army; for hitherto the common soldier

had not only equipped himself but had served without pay. From this time forward the professional soldier came more and more to take the place of the citizen soldier.

The capture of Veii was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns, and all the southern portion of Etruria, divided into four tribes (sec. 301), was added to the Roman domain.

By this act of incorporation all the Etruscan freemen living in these regions and possessing the legal property qualification were made citizens of Rome, and were invested with that measure of the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship that up to this time had been secured by the plebeians.

Into this rich and inviting region thus opened up to Roman enterprise, Roman immigrants now crowded in great numbers, and soon all this part of Etruria became Roman in manners, in customs, and in speech.[3] The Romanization of Italy was now fairly begun.

At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

316. Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.). — We have noticed how, in early times, Celtic tribes from Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. While the Romans were conquering the towns of Etruria these barbarian hordes were moving southward and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

They soon appeared in the neighborhood of Rome. A Roman army met them on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the capital. But an unaccountable panic seized the Romans and they abandoned the field in disgraceful flight. It would be impossible to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitives brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of the Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of

[3] Later, the rest of Etruria was absorbed by Rome, and the Etruscan people and the Etruscan civilization as distinct factors in history disappeared from the world.

safety in Etruria; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Marcus Manlius, for seven months resisted all efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. Finally news was brought the Gauls that enemies were overrunning their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the Forum the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Væ victis!*" (Woe to the vanquished!) Just at this moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general who had been appointed dictator, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives. As he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold."

The city was quickly rebuilt. There were some things, however, which could not be restored. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity.

317. The Licinian Laws (367 B.C.); the Final "Equalization of the Orders." — A great advance of the plebeians towards political equality with the patricians was effected through the passage of the Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune Gaius Licinius. Among other provisions these laws contained the following: (1) That the office of military tribune with consular power (sec. 313) should be abolished, that two consuls should be chosen yearly as at first, and that one of these should be a plebeian;[4] (2) that in place of the two keepers of the

[4] When the patricians saw that it would be impossible to prevent the passage of the proposals, they had recourse to the old device. They lessened the powers of the consulship by taking away from the consuls their judicial functions and devolving them upon a new patrician magistrate bearing the name of *prætor*. The pretext for this was that the plebeians had no knowledge of the sacred formulas of the law.

Sibylline Books (sec. 297) there should in the future be ten, and that five of these should be plebeians.

The equalization of the two orders was now practically effected. The son of a peasant might rise to the highest office in the state. The plebeians gained with comparative ease admission to the remaining offices from which the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them.[5]

The incorporation of the plebeians with the body of Roman citizens with full rights was a matter of immense import for the future of Rome. The strength of the state was thereby practically doubled, and the city was advanced a long way towards the goal of its destiny, — the making of all the world Roman.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Gaius Marcius Coriolanus*. LIVY, ii. 33, 34, 39, and 40, for the story of Coriolanus; ii. 48 and 49, for the legend of the Fabii; iii. 26–28, for that of Cincinnatus; v. 35–49, on the taking of Rome by the Gauls; v. 50–54, on the debate among the Romans in regard to removing to Veii after the sack of Rome by the Gauls. The last reference is particularly valuable, since the passage here conveys an idea of the feelings of the ancients respecting the sacredness of the city and the relation of its patron gods to it.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. i–iii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. vi–xiii. PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. i. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. v–xiii. ABBOTT, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 24–56. IHNE, W., *Early Rome*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Virtues prized by the early Romans as shown by the stories of their heroes. 2. Tales concerning the siege of Veii. 3. Legends connected with the sack of Rome by the Gauls. 4. Roman magistrates. 5. The Tarpeian Rock.

[5] They secured admission to the dictatorship in 356 B.C.; to the censorship in 351 B.C.; to the prætorship in 337 B.C.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(367–264 B.C.)

318. The Samnites. — The most formidable competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the south-east of Latium. The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy. Of the first war (343–341 B.C.) we know very little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately unreliable, account of it.

319. The Revolt of the Latin Cities (340–338 B.C.). — In the midst of the Samnite struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies.[1] Leaving the war unfinished, she turned her forces against the insurgents.

The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply, in principle, the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and the plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the patricians, before the equalization of the orders, had claimed for themselves alone the right to manage the affairs of Rome, so now did the united orders claim for Rome alone the right to manage the affairs of all Latium. But the Latins had become dissatisfied with their position in the unequal alliance, and had resolved that Rome should give up the sovereignty she

[1] In the year 493 B.C. Rome had formed a most important league with the Latin towns (a renewal probably of an earlier alliance). At the outset this league was somewhat such a federation as the Delian League, which Athens just a few years before this had formed with her Ionian allies (sec. 186). There is an instructive parallel between the way in which Athens used her position in the Delian Confederacy to establish an empire and the way in which Rome used her position in the at first equal alliance between her and the towns of Latium to build up a like sovereignty.

was practically exercising. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that the association should be made one of perfect equality. To this end the ambassadors proposed that in the future one of the consuls should be a Latin, and that one half of the Senate should be chosen from the Latin nation. Rome was to be the common fatherland, and all were to bear the Roman name.

These demands of the ambassadors were listened to by the Roman senators with amazement and indignation. "O Jupiter!" exclaimed one of the consuls, Titus Manlius by name, addressing the statue of the god; "canst thou endure to behold in thy own sacred temple strangers as consuls and as senators?" The demands of the Latin allies were refused, and war followed.

After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was subdued. The Latin League as a political body was now dissolved. Several of the towns were allowed to retain their independence; others with their territories were made a part of the Roman domain, and became *municipia*[2] of different grades. The inhabitants of some of these cities were admitted at once to full Roman citizenship, while those of others were given only a part of the rights and privileges of citizens. To prevent any further combination among the cities, intermarriage and trade between them were forbidden.

One noted trophy of the war set up at Rome was the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the city of Antium, which were attached

[2] The teacher will best convey to young pupils an understanding of the Roman municipal system by having them note the system as it exists among ourselves to-day, since our so-called municipal system, in its underlying principle, is an inheritance from Rome. The essential principle involved in the arrangement is local self-government carried on under the paramount authority of the state. In working out this municipal system Rome laid not only the foundation of her own greatness but, transmitting the system as a principle of government to later times, contributed an all-important element to the structure of the modern free state. We must not think that the problem here solved by Rome was one easy of solution. The difficulties met and overcome by her in working out this system were very much like those met and overcome by our statesmen of a century and more ago, when they devised the federal system and determined what should be the relations of the States of our Union to the general government at Washington. Indeed, this whole federal system is nothing more than the application to states of the principles of government that Rome applied to cities.

to the orator's platform in the Forum; hence the name *Rostra*, by which this stand was ever afterwards known.

320. The Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.). — In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, the Romans were at war again with their old rivals, the Samnites. The most memorable event of this struggle was the entrapping and capture of a Roman army at the celebrated Caudine Forks. The soldiers were deprived of their arms and sent beneath the yoke.

The war ended in 304 B.C., with the Romans as final victors. During its course Rome had added extensive territories to her domain, and had made her hold of these secure by means of colonies and military roads; for it was at this time that Rome began the construction of those remarkable highways that formed one of the most impressive features of her later empire. The first of these roads, which ran from Rome to Capua, was begun in the year 312 B.C. by the censor Appius Claudius, and called after him the *Via Appia*.

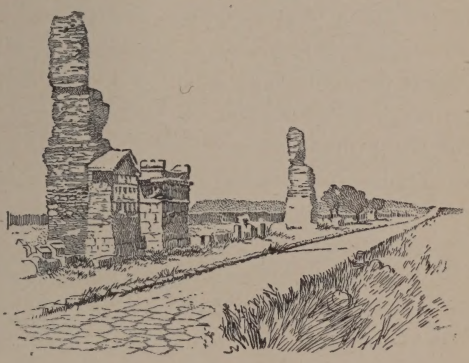

FIG. 80. — THE APPIAN WAY
(From a photograph)

321. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). — It was only a few years after the close of their second contest with Rome before the Samnites were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with her for supremacy in Italy. This time they succeeded in forming against their old enemy a powerful coalition which embraced the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Gauls, and other nations. It was easy for them to accomplish this, for the rapid advance of the power of Rome had caused all the different peoples of the peninsula to realize that unless her encroachments were speedily checked their independence would be lost forever.

The league was soon shattered by the Roman legions. One after another the states and tribes that had joined the alliance were chastised, and the Samnites were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Within a few years after this almost all of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, had also come under the growing power of the imperial city.

322. The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (282–272 B.C.). — Nor did Tarentum long remain independent. The Tarentines having mishandled some Roman prisoners, the Roman Senate sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand amends. In the theater, in the presence of a great assembly, one of the ambassadors was grossly insulted, his toga being befouled by a clownish fellow amidst the approving plaudits of a giddy crowd. The ambassador, raising the soiled garment, said sternly, "Laugh now; but you will weep when this toga is cleansed with blood." Rome at once declared war.

The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and a cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea (280 B.C.). The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his best troops. As he looked over the battlefield he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I shall be ruined"; hence the phrase, "a Pyrrhian victory."

After a second victory as disastrous as his first, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily to aid the Greeks there, who were being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful, but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans; but at Beneventum he suffered a disastrous defeat (275 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison

Tarentum, Pyrrhus now set sail for Epirus. He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.). This ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus and the Rubicon.

323. United Italy. — We cannot make out clearly just what rights and powers Rome exercised over the various cities, tribes, and nations which she had brought under her rule.[3] This much, however, is clear. She took away from them the right of making war, and thus put a stop to the bloody contentions which from time immemorial had raged between the tribes and cities of the peninsula. She thus gave Italy what, after she had laid her restraining authority upon all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, came to be called the *Pax Romana* (the Roman Peace).

This political union of Italy paved the way for the social and racial unification of the peninsula. The greatest marvel of all history is how Rome, embracing at first merely a handful of peasants, could have made so much of the ancient world like unto herself in blood, in speech, in custom, and in manners. That she did so, that she did thus Romanize a large part of the peoples of antiquity, is one of the most important matters in the history of the human race. Rome accomplished this great feat in large measure by means of her system of colonization, which was, in some respects, unlike that of any other people in ancient or in modern times. We must make ourselves familiar with some of the main features of this unique colonial system.

324. Roman Colonies and Latin Colonies. — The colonies that Rome established in conquered territories fall into two classes, known as Roman colonies and Latin colonies. Roman colonies were made up of emigrants, generally three hundred in number, who retained in the new settlement all the rights and privileges, both private and public, of Roman citizens, though of course some of these rights, as for instance that of voting in the public assemblies at Rome, could be exercised by the colonist only

[3] We refer here, not to those territories and communities which Rome had actually incorporated with the Roman domain, but to those communities to which was given the name of *Italian allies*.

through his return to the capital. Usually it was some conquered city that was occupied by the Roman colonists, the old inhabitants either being expelled in whole or in part or reduced to a subject condition. The colonists in their new homes organized a government which was almost an exact imitation of that of Rome, and through their own assemblies and their own magistrates managed all their local affairs. These colonies were in effect just so many miniature Romes, — centers from which radiated Roman culture into all the regions round about them.

The Latin colonies were so called, not because they were founded by Latin settlers, but because their inhabitants possessed substantially the same rights as the old Latin towns enjoyed that had retained their independence at the end of the great Latin War (sec. 319). The Latin colonist possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, together with the capacity to acquire the suffrage by migrating to the capital and taking up, under certain conditions, a permanent residence there.

The Latin colonies numbered about twenty at the time of the Second Punic War. They were scattered everywhere throughout Italy, and were, even to a much greater degree than the Roman colonies, active and powerful agents in the dissemination of the Roman language, law, and culture. They were Rome's chief auxiliary in her great task of making all Italy Roman.

All these colonies were kept in close touch with the capital by means of splendid military roads, the construction of which, as we have seen, was begun during the Second Samnite War (sec. 320).

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pyrrhus.* LIVY, ix. 2–6, the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks; and x. 28 and 29, the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. iv–ix. IHNE, vol. i, bk. iii, chap. xviii, "Condition of the Roman People before the Beginning of the Wars with Carthage." FREEMAN, E. A., *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiii, "Pyrrhus in Italy." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. ii. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. xiii–xvii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Roman municipal system. 2. Tales of Pyrrhus. 3. The Roman colonial system.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE PUNIC WARS

I. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.)

325. Carthage and her Empire. — Foremost among the colonies founded by the Phœnicians was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa.[1] Its favorable location upon one of the best harbors of the African coast gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway over the northern coast of Africa, and possessed the larger part of Sicily as well as Sardinia. She also collected tribute from the natives of Corsica and of Southern Spain. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses and swept in every direction by her war galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

The government of Carthage was democratic in theory but oligarchic in fact. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates stood at the head of the state. The Senate was composed of the heads of the leading families; its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman Senate. The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal. To this cruel fire-god they offered human sacrifices.

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326. Rome and Carthage compared. — These two rival cities were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of antiquity. In material power and resources they seemed well matched as antagonists; yet Rome had elements of strength, hidden in the character of her citizens and embodied in the principles of her government, which Carthage did not possess. Carthage was a despotic oligarchy. The many different races of the Carthaginian Empire were held in an artificial union by force

[1] For geographical names mentioned in this chapter, see map at p. 236.

alone, for the Carthaginians had none of the genius of the Romans for political organization and state building. The Roman state, on the other hand, as we have learned, was the most wonderful political organism that the world had ever seen. It was not yet a nation, but it was rapidly growing into one. Every free man within its limits was either a citizen of Rome, or was on the way to becoming a citizen. Rome was already the common fatherland of more than a quarter of a million of men.

Again, the Carthaginian territories, though of great extent, were widely scattered, while the Roman domains were compact and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula.

As to the naval resources of the two states, there existed at the beginning of the struggle no basis for a comparison. The Romans were almost destitute of anything that could be called a war navy,[2] and were practically without experience in naval warfare; while the Carthaginians possessed the largest, the best manned, and the most splendidly equipped fleet that had ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean.

And in another respect Carthage had an immense advantage over Rome. She had Hannibal. Rome had some great commanders, but she had none like him.

327. The Beginning of the War. — Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. At the commencement of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast, which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and the Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two centuries for the control of the island, but the Romans had not yet set foot upon it. In the year 264 B.C., however, on a flimsy pretext of giving protection to some friends, the Romans crossed over to the island. That act committed them to a career of conquest destined to continue till their armies had made the circuit of the Mediterranean lands.

[2] Polybius (i. 20) says that they did not have a single galley when they first crossed over to Sicily. He says they ferried their army across in boats borrowed from the Greek cities of Southern Italy.

The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the newcomers. The allies were defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold in the island. Hiero, king of Syracuse, seeing that he was upon the losing side, forsook the Carthaginians, formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend.

328. **The Romans gain their First Naval Victory** (260 B.C.). — Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians, they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. So they determined to build a fleet. A Carthaginian galley, tradition says, that had been wrecked upon the shores of Italy served as a pattern.[3] It is affirmed that within the short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war galleys.

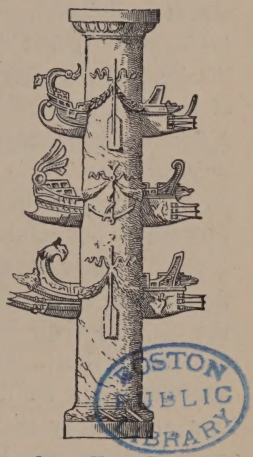
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FIG. 81. — THE COLUMN OF DUILLIUS (A restoration)

The column was decorated with the prows of captured ships

The consul G. Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily. Now, distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemy in naval tactics, the Romans had provided each of their vessels with a drawbridge. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, this gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a

[3] The Greek and Etruscan ships were merely triremes, that is, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were unable to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height.

hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were unequaled. The result was a complete victory for the Romans.

The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired in the more sanguine splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Mediterranean should speedily become a Roman lake in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome.

329. The Romans carry the War into Africa. — The Romans now resolved to carry the war into Africa. An immense Carthaginian fleet that disputed the passage of the Roman squadron was almost annihilated, and the Romans disembarked near Carthage (256 B.C.). At first they were successful in all their operations. Finally, however, Regulus, one of the consuls who led the army of invasion, suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner. A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily. A second expedition to Africa ended in like disaster to the Romans, with the loss of another great fleet.

330. Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy. — For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea, and Sicily became once more the battle ground of the contending rivals. At last, having lost a great battle (battle of Panormus, 251 B.C.), the Carthaginians became dispirited, and sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate for peace. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who, since his capture five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before leaving Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related that, upon arrival at Rome, he counseled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the Senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners, he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace."

The Roman Senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and

entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage, to meet whatever fate the Carthaginians, in their disappointment and anger, might plan for him. The tradition affirms that he was put to a cruel death.

331. Loss of Two More Roman Fleets. — After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy the war went on for several years by land and by sea with many vicissitudes. At last, on the coast of Sicily, one of the consuls, Claudius, met with an overwhelming defeat.[4] Almost a hundred vessels of his fleet were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Superstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle, when the auspices were being taken and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

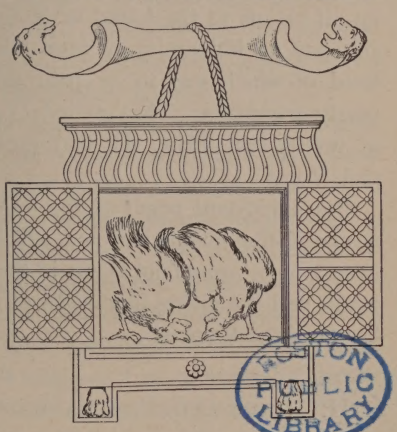
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FIG. 82. — AUGUR'S BIRDS. (After a drawing based on an ancient relief)

The knowledge sought was gained by observing the birds' manner of taking their food. Their refusal to eat was an unlucky omen

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a fleet of over nine hundred war galleys and transports, when a severe storm arising, the squadron was beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped.

332. Close of the First Punic War (241 B.C.). — The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by

[4] In a sea fight at Drepana, 249 B.C.

storms. It was several years before the Romans regained sufficient courage to again commit their fortune to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was then built and equipped, entirely by private subscription, and intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet near the Ægatian Islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat (241 B.C.).

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about $4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

One important result of the war was the crippling of the sea power of the Phœnician race, which from time immemorial had been a most prominent factor in the history of the Mediterranean lands, and the giving practically of the control of the sea into the hands of the Romans.

II. Rome and Carthage between the First and the Second Punic War (241–218 B.C.)

333. The First Roman Province and the Beginning of the Provincial System (241 B.C.). — For the twenty-three years following the close of the first struggle between Rome and Carthage the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing all of it, save the lands in the eastern part belonging to Syracuse, as a province of the Republic. This was the first Roman province, but as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was governed by a magistrate exercising both civil and military authority,

and paid an annual tribute in kind, or a money tax, to Rome, something that had never been exacted of the Italian allies.

This Roman provincial system presented a sharp contrast to that liberal system of federation and incorporation that formed the very corner stone of the Roman power in Italy. There Rome had made all, or substantially all, of the conquered peoples either citizens or close confederates. Against the provincials she not only closed the gates of the city but denied to the most of them all but the mere *name* of allies. She made them practically her subjects, and administered their affairs not in their interest but in her own. This illiberal policy contributed largely, as we shall learn, to the undoing of the Roman Republic.

334. **Rome acquires Sardinia and Corsica; the Second Province** (227 B.C.). — The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient, and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. This island in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province (227 B.C.). With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the Western or Tuscan Sea was supreme.

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335. **War with the Gauls; Roman Authority extended to the Alps.** — In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, Gallic tribes both sides the Alps gathered for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At Rome the terror was great; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians (sec. 316). An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline Books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls. Hoping sufficiently to fulfill the prophecy and satisfy fate, the Roman Senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. At Telamon they were surrounded by the Roman armies and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foothills of the Alps.

336. **Carthage in the Truceless War** (241–237 B.C.). — Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. Her mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted on account of being unpaid. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The war was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as "the Truceless War." But the genius of the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca at last triumphed, and the authority of Carthage was everywhere restored.

337. **The Carthaginians in Spain.**—After the disastrous ending of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians sought to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state, and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

As a rule, genius is not transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the eldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him.

338. **Hannibal's Vow; he attacks Saguntum.** — Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called

to be its leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar, and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

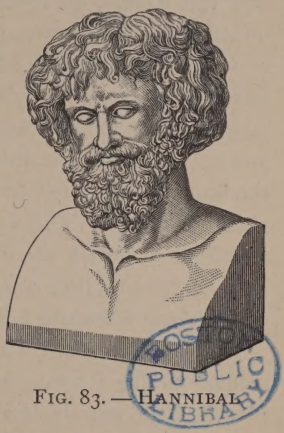
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FIG. 83. — HANNIBAL.

In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a native city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with some Greek cities at the foot of the Pyrenees, under their protection. Hannibal laid siege to the place in the spring of 219 B.C. The Roman Senate sent messengers to him forbidding him to make war upon a city that was an ally of the Roman people; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege, and after an investment of eight months gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the senate that they give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga.

III. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218–201 B.C.)

339. Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. — The Carthaginian Empire was now all astir with preparations for the mighty struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement.

His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. Early in the spring of 218 B.C., he set out from New Carthage with an army numbering about a hundred thousand men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. Traversing Northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhone, he reached the foothills of the Alps, probably under the pass known to-day as the Little St. Bernard. The season was already far advanced, — it was October, — and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail, so that the passage of the mountains was accomplished only after severe toil and losses. At length the thinned columns, numbering barely twenty thousand men, issued from the defiles of the foothills upon the plains of the Po. This was the pitiable force with which Hannibal proposed to attack the Roman state, — a state that at this time had on its levy lists over seven hundred thousand foot soldiers and seventy thousand horse.

340. Battle of the Ticinus, of the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus. — The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the Senate had sent one of the consuls, Tiberius Sempronius, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the Senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled by the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees and was among the Gauls upon the Rhone. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa to the defense of Italy. Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He sent his army on to Spain under the command of his brother, to prevent Hannibal's receiving any reënforcements from that quarter. He himself turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up

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through Italy by forced marches. In the battle of the Trebia (218 B.C.) the united armies of the two consuls were drawn into an ambuscade and almost annihilated.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under the consul Gaius Flaminius between the hills and the lake, where, bewildered by a fog, the greater part of the army was slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain (217 B.C.).

341. Fabius "the Delayer." — The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the Senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he pressed eastward to the Adriatic, and then marched southward into Apulia. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, everything would be lost. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy, — to follow and annoy with his small force the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle. Thus time would be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defense.

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In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defense. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him *Cunctator*, "the Delayer." But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow.

342. The Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.). — The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army that might hope to engage successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C. these new levies, numbering eighty thousand men, under the command of the recently chosen consuls Paulus and Varro, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ,

on the banks of the Aufidus, in Apulia. It was the largest army Rome had ever gathered on any battlefield. Through the skillful maneuvers of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded and huddled together in a helpless mass; then they were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From forty to seventy thousand are said to have been slain;[5] a few thousand were taken prisoners; only a handful escaped. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured out on the floor of the senate house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of Roman knights.

343. Events after the Battle of Cannæ. — The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the Senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did that body display greater calmness, wisdom, and resolution. Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defense of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon the city. Swift horsemen were sent out along the Appian Way to gather information of the conqueror's movements, and to learn, as Livy expresses it, "if the immortal gods, out of pity to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name."

But Hannibal did not deem it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls. He even sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The Senate would not even permit the ambassadors to enter the gates. Hardly less disappointed was Hannibal in the temper of the Roman confederates. All the allies of the Latin name adhered to Rome through all these trying times with unshaken loyalty. Some tribes in the south of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians and the Apulians, now went over to the Carthaginians. Capua also seceded from Rome and entered into an alliance with Hannibal, who quartered his army for the winter following the battle of Cannæ in the luxurious city. A little later Syracuse also was lost to Rome.

[5] Polybius (iii. 117) places the killed at 70,000 and the prisoners at 10,000; Livy (xxii. 49) puts the number of the slain at 42,700.

344. The Fall of Syracuse (212 B.C.) **and of Capua** (211 B.C.). — While Hannibal was resting in Capua and awaiting reënforcements, Rome was busy raising and equipping new levies to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ. The first task to be undertaken was the chastisement of Syracuse for its desertion of the Roman alliance. The distinguished general, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, called "the Sword of Rome," was intrusted with this commission. In the year 214 B.C. he laid siege to the city. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered valuable aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. But the city fell at last, and was given over to sack and pillage (212 B.C.). Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it at this time by the relentless Romans.

Capua must next be punished for opening its gates and extending its hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal endeavored to create a diversion in favor of his allies by making a dash on Rome, — legend says that he rang a defiant lance against one of the city gates, — but he failed to draw the legions from before Capua, and was forced to abandon the Capuans to their fate. The city soon fell, and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men of the place were put to death and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves (211 B.C.).

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345. Hasdrubal attempts to carry Aid to his Brother; Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.). — During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Roman armies in Spain. At length he determined to leave the conduct of the war in that country to others and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid. He followed the same route that had been taken by Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to join him. Rome made a supreme effort to prevent the junction of the armies of

the two brothers. At the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal's march was blocked by a large Roman army. Here his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.). His head was severed from his body and sent to Hannibal. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal, it is said, exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I read thy fate."

346. **The Romans carry the War into Africa; Battle of Zama** (202 B.C.). — Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defense of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio (son of the consul mentioned above, sec. 340) led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian senate sent for Hannibal. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile armies met. Hannibal here suffered his first and last defeat (202 B.C.).

347. **The Close of the War** (201 B.C.). — Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city at the end of the First Punic War. She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of four thousand talents (about $5,000,000) at once, and two hundred talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in full sight of the citizens.

Such was the end of the Hannibalic War, as called by the Romans. Scipio was accorded a grand triumph at Rome, and in honor of his achievements given the surname *Africanus*.[6]

[6] Some time after the close of the Second Punic War, the Romans, persuading themselves that Hannibal was preparing Carthage for another war, demanded his surrender by the Carthaginians. He fled to Syria, and thence to Asia Minor, where, to avoid capture, he committed suicide by means of poison (183 B.C.).

348. Effects of the War on Italy. — Italy never entirely recovered from the calamitous effects of this war. Agriculture in some districts was almost ruined. The peasantry had been torn from the soil and driven within the walled towns. The slave class had increased, and the estates of the great landowners had constantly grown in size, and absorbed the little holdings of the ruined peasants. In thus destroying the Italian peasantry, Hannibal's invasion and long occupancy of the peninsula did very much to aggravate all those economic evils which even before this time were at work undermining the earlier sound industrial life of the Romans, and filling Italy with a numerous and dangerous class of homeless and discontented men.

IV. Events between the Second and the Third Punic War (201–146 B.C.)

349. Introductory. — The terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the eventful half century that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the Third Punic War, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern Mediterranean. In an earlier chapter in which we narrated the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed their several histories until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing dominions (Chapter XX). We shall therefore in this place speak of these states only in the briefest manner, merely indicating the connection of their affairs with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

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350. The Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.). — Rome came first into hostile relations with Macedonia. During the Second Punic War Philip V of that kingdom had entered into an alliance with Hannibal. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. For these things the Roman Senate resolved to punish him.

An army under Flamininus was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx by subjecting Philip to a most disastrous defeat. The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and the Greek cities that had been brought into subjection to Macedonia were declared free. Unfortunately the Greeks had lost all capacity for self-government, and the anarchy into which their affairs soon fell afforded the Romans an excuse for extending their rule over all Greece.

351. **The Battle of Magnesia** (190 B.C.). — Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.) of Syria had at this time not only made important conquests in Asia Minor but had even carried his arms into Europe. As soon as intelligence of his movements was carried to Italy, the legions of the Republic were set in motion. At Magnesia, in Asia Minor, Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Lesser Asia fell into the hands of the Romans. Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so remote from the Tiber, the Senate conferred the greater part of the new territory upon their friend and ally, Eumenes, king of Pergamum (sec. 231, n. 3). This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet king in the hands of the Roman Senate.

352. **The Battle of Pydna** (168 B.C.). — And now Macedonia, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip V, was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the memorable field of Pydna. Twenty-two years later (146 B.C.) the country was organized as a Roman province. The short but great part which Macedonia as an independent state had played in history was ended. She now drops below the historical horizon.

353. **The Destruction of Corinth** (146 B.C.). — During the last war between Rome and Macedonia the cities of the Achæan League (sec. 233) had shown themselves lukewarm in their friendship for Rome. Consequently, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans collected a thousand of the chief citizens of these

federated cities and transported them to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years as hostages for the good conduct of their countrymen at home. Among these exiles was the celebrated historian Polybius, who wrote an account of all these events which we are now narrating and which mark the advance of Rome to the sovereignty of the world.

At the end of the period named, the Roman Senate, in an indulgent mood, gave the survivors permission to return home. They went back inflamed with hatred towards Rome, and became active in the cities of the league in stirring up feeling against her. In Corinth particularly the people displayed the most unreasonable and vehement hostility towards the Romans. There could be but one issue of this conduct, and that was war with Rome.

This came in the year 147 B.C. Corinth was soon in the hands of the Romans. The men were killed, and the women and children sold into slavery. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. But a large part of the rich art treasures of the city must have been destroyed by the rude and unappreciative soldiers. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the sack of the city, himself saw groups of soldiers using priceless paintings as boards on which to play their games of dice.

The despoiled city, in obedience to the command of the Roman Senate, was given to the flames, its walls were leveled, and the very ground on which it had stood was accursed.

354. Effects upon Rome of her Conquest of the East. — In entering the lands beyond the Adriatic the Romans had entered the homeland of Greek culture, with which they had first come in close contact in Magna Græcia a century earlier. This culture was in many respects vastly superior to their own, and for this reason it exerted a profound influence upon life and thought at Rome. Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, and Greek literature and philosophy became the fashion at Rome, so that Roman society seemed in a fair way of becoming Hellenized. And to a certain degree this did take place.

But along with the many helpful elements of culture which the Romans received from the Hellenic East, they received also germs

of great social and moral evils. The simplicity and frugality of the earlier times were replaced by Græco-Oriental luxury and dissoluteness. Evidences of this decline in the moral life of the Romans, the presage of the downfall of the Republic, will multiply as we advance in our story.

355. **Cato the Censor.** — One of the most noted of the Romans of this time was Marcus Porcius Cato (232–147 B.C.), surnamed the Censor. Cato set his face like a flint against all Greek innovations, and did everything in his power to keep Greek ideas and customs out of Rome. His life and services, especially those which he rendered the state as censor, were approved and appreciated by his fellow-citizens, who set up in his honor a statue with this inscription: "This statue was erected to Cato because when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, hé, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it."

V. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.)

356. **"Carthage should be destroyed."** — The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should under no circumstances engage in war with an ally of Rome (sec. 347). Taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, Masinissa, king of Numidia and an ally of Rome, began to make depredations upon her territories. Carthage appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the Senate to settle the dispute, unfairly adjudged every point in favor of the robber Masinissa.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage, — her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas, — he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. All of his addresses after this — no

matter on what subject — he is said invariably to have closed with the declaration, "Moreover, Carthage should be destroyed."

357. Roman Perfidy. — A pretext for destroying the city was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory, instead of calling upon Rome, from which source experience had taught them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army with the resolution of defending themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidians and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, children of the noblest Carthaginian families, the independence of their city should be respected. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these hostages in the hands of the Romans than the consular armies, thus secured against attack, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms. Still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman Senate, — "That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the Senate was announced to the Carthaginians and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

358. The Carthaginians prepare to defend their City. — It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues and vases, were melted down for weapons. Material was torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military

engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the catapults. By such labor and through such sacrifices the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just so treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital and ready to bid them defiance.

359. **The Destruction of Carthage** (146 B.C.). — For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio Æmilianus[7] succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased only fifty thousand men, women, and children, out of a population of seven hundred thousand, remained to be made prisoners. The city was set on fire, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which fire could not destroy was leveled, a plow was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the destruction of the city, records that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smoldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer:

> The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.[8]

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city; and by means of traders and settlers Roman civilization was spread rapidly throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

360. **The Capture and Destruction of Numantia** (133 B.C.). — It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the blotting out of Corinth in Greece and of Carthage in Africa should tell also the story of the destruction, at the hands of the Romans, of Numantia in Spain.

[7] Grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. After his conquest of Carthage he was known as *Africanus Minor*.

[8] *Iliad*, vi. 448.

The Romans had expelled the Carthaginians from the peninsula, but the warlike native tribes — the Celtiberians and Lusitanians — of the North and the West were ready to dispute stubbornly with the newcomers the possession of the soil. The war gathered about Numantia, the siege of which was brought to a close by Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. Before the surrender of the place, almost all the inhabitants had met death either in defense of the walls or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was leveled to the ground (133 B.C.).

Though ever since the Second Punic War Spain had been regarded as forming a part of the Roman dominions, still now for the first time it really became a Roman possession. Roman merchants and settlers crowded into the country. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, the manners, the customs, and the language of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, so that the peninsula became in time thoroughly Romanized.

Selections from the Sources. — POLYBIUS, i. 10–63, for an account of the First Punic War; iii. 50–57, the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal; xxxviii. 3–11, the cause of the fall of Greece; and xxxix. 3–5, the fall of Carthage. It should be remembered that Polybius here writes as an eye-witness of the scenes that he describes. PLUTARCH, *Life of Fabius Maximus* and *Life of Marcus Cato.*

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Struggle between the Greeks and the Carthaginians in Sicily. 2. Fabius "the Delayer." 3. The fall of Syracuse. 4. The destruction of Corinth. 5. Rome and Greek culture. 6. Cato the Censor. 7. The last days of Carthage. 8. Viriathus.

CHAPTER XXX

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

(133–31 B.C.)

361. Introductory. — We have now traced in broad outlines the development of the institutions of republican Rome, and have told briefly the story of that wonderful career of conquest which made the little Palatine city first the mistress of Latium, then of Italy, and finally of the greater part of the Mediterranean world. In the present chapter we shall follow the declining fortunes of the Republic through the last century of its existence. During this time many agencies were at work undermining the institutions of the Republic and paving the way for the Empire. What these agencies were will best be made apparent by a simple narration of the events that crowd this memorable period of Roman history.

362. The First Servile War in Sicily (134–132 B.C.). — With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves, — what is known as the First Servile War. The condition of affairs in that island was the outgrowth of the Roman system of slavery.

The captives that the Romans took in war they usually sold into servitude. The great number furnished by their numerous conquests had caused slaves to become a drug in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor and then to buy others than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In case of sickness they were often left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some estates were worked by as many as twenty thousand slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their

owners, and often were their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made the one servant and the other master.

The wretched condition of the slaves in Sicily, where the slave system exhibited some of its worst features, and the cruelty of their masters at last drove them to revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island until two hundred thousand slaves were in arms, — if axes, reaping hooks, staves, and roasting spits may be called arms. They defeated four Roman armies sent against them, and for three years defied the power of Rome. Finally, however, in the year 132 B.C., the revolt was crushed, and peace was restored to the distracted island.[1]

363. The Public Lands. — In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. At the bottom of a large part of the social and economic troubles here was the public land system. By law or custom those portions of the public lands which remained unsold or unallotted as homesteads were open to any one to till or to pasture. In return for such use of the public land the user paid the state usually a fifth or a tenth of the yearly produce. Persons who availed themselves of this privilege were called possessors or occupiers; we should call them "squatters" or "tenants at will."

Now it had happened that, in various ways, the greater part of these public lands had fallen into the hands of the wealthy. They alone had the capital necessary to stock with cattle and slaves the new lands, and hence they were the sole occupiers of them. The small farmers everywhere, too, were being ruined by the unfair competition of slave labor, and their little holdings were passing by purchase, and often by fraud or barefaced robbery, into the hands of the great proprietors.

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There was a law, it is true, which made it illegal for any person to occupy more than a prescribed amount of the public lands; but this law had long since become a dead letter. The greater part of the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand

[1] In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell.

persons. These great landowners found stock raising more profitable than working the soil. Hence Italy had been made into a great sheep pasture. The dispossessed peasants, left without home or employment, crowded into the cities, congregating especially at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence. Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, — the rich and the poor, the possessors and the non-possessors.

364. The Reforms of the Gracchi. — The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single clod to call your own." The people made him tribune (134–133 B.C.); and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief.

As the end of his term of office drew near, Tiberius stood again for the tribunate.[2] The aristocrats combined to defeat him. It came to riot and street fighting. The partisans of Tiberius were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (133 B.C.). This was the first time that the Roman Forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus now came forward to assume the position made vacant by the death of his brother Tiberius. In the year 124 B.C. he was elected tribune. Once in the tribuneship, he entered with energy upon the work of reform. He won the affection of the poor of the city by carrying a law which provided that every Roman citizen, on personal application, should be given corn from the public granaries at half or less than half the market price. Gaius could not have foreseen all the evils to which this law was to lead. It led eventually to the free distribution of corn to all citizens who made application for it. Very soon a large

[2] This was unconstitutional, for at this time a tribune could not hold his office for two consecutive years.

proportion of the population of Rome was living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib (sec. 466).

Gaius proposed in the interest of the people other measures which were bitterly opposed by the aristocrats, and the two orders at last came into collision. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword (121 B.C.), and three thousand of his adherents were massacred. The consul Lucius Opimius had offered for the head of Gaius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The common people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs, and their memory was preserved in later times by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

365. **The War with Jugurtha** (111–106 B.C.). — After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions of the aristocratic party. The Gracchan laws respecting the public lands were annulled or made of no effect. Italy fell again into the hands of a few overrich landowners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the provinces, — everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. This is well illustrated by affairs in Africa.

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Even the consul Bestia, who had been sent into Africa with an army to punish the insolent usurper, sold himself to the robber. An investigation was ordered; but many prominent officials at Rome were implicated in the offenses, and the matter was hushed up with money. The venality of the Romans disgusted even Jugurtha, who exclaimed, "O venal city, thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser!"

In the year 106 B.C. the war against Jugurtha was brought to a close by Gaius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome.

366. Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons (113–101 B.C.). — The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," three hundred thousand strong in fighting men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded and were now desolating the Roman province of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and sweep down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutons and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes. They carried with them in rude wagons all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the newcomers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. The terror at Rome was only equaled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls three centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was reëlected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command of the armies. The barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps and join in the valley of the Po the Teutons, who were to force the defiles of the Western or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutons, Marius hurried into Southern Gaul, and falling upon the barbarians at a favorable moment almost annihilated the entire host.[3] He now recrossed the Alps and hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the northeastern corner of Italy. Uninformed as to the fate of the

[3] In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

Teutons, the Cimbri sent an embassy to Marius to demand that they and their kinsmen be given lands in the peninsula. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutons have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). More than one hundred thousand of the barbarians were killed, and sixty thousand taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman slave markets. Marius was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

367. The Social or Marsic War (91–89 B.C.). — Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past before Rome was threatened by another and greater evil arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes, — *Roman citizens*, *Latins*, and *Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital, of certain towns called *municipia*, and of the Roman colonies (sec. 324), besides the dwellers on isolated farms and the inhabitants of villages scattered everywhere throughout Italy. The Latins comprised the inhabitants of the Latin colonies (sec. 324). The Italian allies were those conquered peoples that Rome had excluded wholly from the rights of the city.

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The Social or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship.[4] Their demands being stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome, they took up arms, resolved upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica. Thus in a single day a large part of Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome.

[4] It should be carefully noted that the opposition to the admission of strangers to the rights of the city was no longer based on religious grounds, as was the case in the earliest days of patrician Rome (sec. 319). The opposition now arose simply from the selfish determination of a privileged class in the Roman state to retain its monopoly rights and immunities.

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the Republic. The war lasted three years, and was finally brought to an end rather by prudent concessions on the part of Rome than by fighting. In the year 90 B.C., alarmed by signs of disaffection in certain of the communities that up to this time had remained faithful, Rome granted the franchise of the city to all Italian communities that had not declared war against her or had already laid down their arms. The following year the full rights of the city were offered to all Italians who should within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and express a wish for the franchise. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war.[5]

368. Comments on the Political Results of the Social War. — Thus as an outcome of the war practically all the freemen of Italy south of the Po were made equal in civil and political rights. This was a matter of great significance. "The enrollment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded," declares the historian Merivale, "as the greatest stroke of policy in the whole history of the Republic." This wholesale enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies more than doubled the number of Roman citizens.

This equalization of the different classes of the Italian peninsula was simply a later phase of that movement in early Rome which resulted in the equalization of the two orders of the patricians and plebeians (Chapter XXVII). But the purely political results of the earlier and those of the later revolution were very different. At the earlier time those who demanded and received the franchise were persons living either in Rome or in its immediate vicinity, and consequently able to exercise the acquired right to vote and to hold office.

But now it was very different. These new-made citizens were living in towns and villages or on farms scattered all over Italy,

[5] After the close of the war the rights that had up to this time been enjoyed by the Latin towns were conferred upon all the cities between the Po and the Alps.

and of course very few of them could ever go to Rome, either to participate in the elections there, to vote on proposed legislation, or to become candidates for the Roman magistracies. Hence the rights they had acquired were, after all, politically barren. But no one was to blame for this state of things. Rome had simply outgrown her city constitution and her system of primary assemblies (sec. 292). She needed for her widening empire a representative system like ours; but representation was a political device far away from the thoughts of the men of those times.

As a result of the impossibility of the Roman citizens outside of Rome taking part, as a general thing, in the meetings of the popular assemblies at the capital, the offices of the state fell into the hands of those actually living in Rome or settled in its immediate neighborhood. Since the free, or practically free, distribution of corn and the public shows were drawing to the capital from all quarters crowds of the poor, the idle, and the vicious, these assemblies were rapidly becoming simply mobs controlled by noisy demagogues and unscrupulous military leaders aiming at the supreme power in the state.

This situation brought about a serious division in the body of Roman citizens. Those of the capital came to regard themselves as the real rulers of the empire, as they actually were, and looked with disdain upon those living in the other cities and the remoter districts of the peninsula. They alone reaped the fruits of the conquered world. At the same time the mass of outside passive citizens, as we may call them, came to look with jealousy upon this body of pampered aristocrats, rich speculators, and ragged, dissolute clients and hangers-on at Rome. They became quite reconciled to the thought of power passing out of the hands of such a crowd and into the hands of a single man. The feelings of men everywhere were being prepared for the revolution that was to overthrow the Republic and bring in the Empire.

369. Mithradates the Great establishes an Empire in the Orient. — While the Social War was still in progress in Italy a formidable enemy of Rome appeared in the East. Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, king of Pontus (sec. 229, n. 2), taking advantage of the

distracted condition of the Republic, had encroached upon the Roman possessions in Asia Minor, and had caused a general massacre of the Italian traders and residents in that country. The number of victims of this wholesale slaughter is believed to have been at least eighty thousand.

Mithradates now turned his attention to Europe and sent his army into Greece. Athens and most of the other Greek cities renounced the authority of Rome and hailed Mithradates as the protector of Hellenism against the barbarian Romans.

FIG. 84. — MITHRADATES THE GREAT

370. **Marius and Sulla contend for the Command in the War against Mithradates.** — The Roman Senate now bestirred itself. An army was raised for the recovery of the Orient. Straightway a contest arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The Senate conferred this upon Sulla, who at that time was consul. Marius was furious. By violent means he succeeded in carrying a measure in an assembly of the people whereby the command was taken away from Sulla and given to him. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed. Sulla soon embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).

371. **Marius massacres the Aristocrats** (87 B.C.). — Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithradatic war,[6] we must first follow the fortunes of the proscribed Marius. Returning from Africa, whither he had fled, Marius joined the consul Cinna in an attempt to crush by force the senatorial party. Rome was cut off from her food supplies and starved into submission.

[6] This was what is known as the First Mithradatic War (88–84 B.C.).

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Gnæus Octavius, who represented the aristocrats, was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the Rostra. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome, — a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. Marius was now consul for the seventh time. He enjoyed his seventh consulship only thirteen days, being carried away by death in the seventy-first year of his age (86 B.C.).

372. **The Proscriptions of Sulla** (82 B.C.). — With the Mithradatic war ended, Sulla wrote to the Senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party, — his own and the Republic's foes. The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline Books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

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The returning army from the East landed in Italy (83 B.C.). After much hard fighting Sulla entered Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the Rostra. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and then grew rapidly until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered simply because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble, coming into the Forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas! my villa has proved my ruin." Julius Cæsar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of

his relationship to Marius, but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him; as he did so, however, he said warningly, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

The number of victims of these proscriptions has been handed down as forty-seven hundred. Almost all of these must have been men of wealth or of special distinction on account of their activity in public affairs. The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold at public auction, or virtually given away by Sulla to his favorites. The bases of some of the most colossal fortunes that we hear of a little after this were laid during these times of proscription and robbery.

This reign of terror bequeathed to later times a terrible "legacy of hatred and fear." Its awful scenes haunted the Romans for generations, and at every crisis in the affairs of the commonwealth the public mind was thrown into a state of painful apprehension lest there should be a repetition of these frightful days of Sulla.

373. **Sulla made Dictator, with Power to remodel the Constitution** (82 B.C.). — The Senate now passed a decree which approved and confirmed all that Sulla had done, and made him dictator during his own good pleasure. This was the first time a dictator had been appointed since the war with Hannibal, and the first time the dictatorial authority had ever been conferred for a longer period than six months. The decree further invested Sulla with authority to make laws and to remodel the constitution in any way that might seem to him necessary and best. The power here given Sulla was like that with which the decemvirs had been clothed nearly four centuries before this time (sec. 309).

The reforms of Sulla had for their chief aim the restoration of the authority of the Senate, which recent revolutions had reduced almost to a nullity, and the lessening of the power of the tribunate.

374. **The Death of Sulla; Result of his Rule.** — After having exercised the unlimited power of his office for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of everybody, suddenly resigned the dictatorship and went into retirement. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). One important result of the reign of Sulla as an

absolute dictator was the accustoming of the people to the idea of the rule of a single man. His short dictatorship was the prelude to the reign of the permanent imperator.

The parts of the old actors in the drama were now all played to the end. But the plot deepens, and new men appear upon the stage to carry on the new, which are really the old, parts.

375. Spartacus; War of the Gladiators (73–71 B.C.). — About a decade after the proscriptions of Sulla, Italy was the scene of fresh troubles. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheater. At Capua was a sort of training school from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments. In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented persons from every quarter. Their number at length increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. But at length Spartacus himself was killed and the insurrection crushed.

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376. The Abuses and the Prosecution of Verres (70 B.C.). — Terrible as was the state of society in Italy, still worse was the condition of affairs outside the peninsula. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions had become shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the proprætor of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and

when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things which struck his fancy, whether in temples or in private dwellings.

Verres could not be called to account while in office (sec. 305); and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted, so corrupt and venal had become the Senate, the body by which all such offenders were tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers; the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

At length, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial caused Verres to flee into exile to Massilia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

377. Growth of Piracy in the Mediterranean; War with the Pirates (78–66 B.C.). — Another most shameful commentary on the utter incapacity of the government of the aristocrats was the growth of piracy in the Mediterranean waters during their rule. It is true that this was an evil which had been growing for a long time. The Romans through their conquest of the countries fringing the Mediterranean had destroyed not only the governments that had maintained order on the land, but at the same time had destroyed the fleets, as in the case of Carthage, which, since the days when the rising Greek cities suppressed piracy in the Ægean Sea, had policed the Mediterranean and kept its ship routes clear of corsairs. In the more vigorous days of the Republic the sea had been well watched by Roman fleets, but after the close of the wars with Carthage the Romans had allowed their war navy to fall into decay.

The Mediterranean, thus left practically without patrol, was swarming with pirates; for the Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits in those maritime countries to take to their

ships and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. These pirates had banded themselves together in a sort of government and state. They had as places of refuge numerous strong fortresses — four hundred, it is said — among the inaccessible mountains of the coast lands they frequented. They had a fleet of a thousand sails, with dockyards and naval arsenals.

The history of this pirate state is as interesting as a pirate's tale. Its swift ships, sailing in fleets and squadrons, scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. Nor were these buccaneers content with what spoils the sea might yield them; like the Vikings of the Northern seas in later times, they made descents upon every coast, plundered villas and towns, and sweeping off the inhabitants sold them openly as slaves in the slave markets of the East. The pirates even ravaged the shores of Italy itself. They carried off merchants and travelers from the Appian Way and held them for ransom. At last they began to intercept the grain ships of Sicily and Africa and thereby threatened Rome with starvation. Corn rose to famine prices.

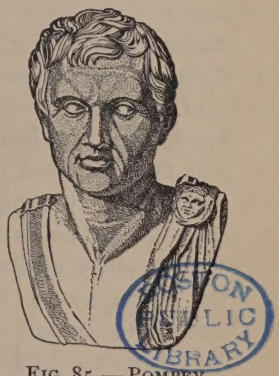

FIG. 85. — POMPEY THE GREAT
(Spada Palace, Rome)

The Romans now bestirred themselves. In the year 67 B.C. Gnæus Pompey, a rising young general of the aristocrats, was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He quickly swept the pirates from the sea, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. His vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

378. Pompey in the East; the Death of Mithradates (63 B.C.). — Pompey had not yet ended the war with the pirates before he was given, by a vote of the people, charge of the war against

Mithradates,[7] who now for several years had been in arms against Rome. In a great battle in Lesser Armenia Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field, and soon afterwards, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life[8] (63 B.C.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

Pompey now turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province under the name of Syria (64 B.C.). Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege of Jerusalem, by taking advantage of the scruples of the Jews in regard to fighting on the Sabbath day, captured the city (63 B.C.).

379. The Conspiracy of Catiline (64–62 B.C.). — While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Catiline, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state and to plunder and burn the capital. The proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed and all debts were to be canceled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The Senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula that they "should take care that the Republic received no harm." Then in the Senate chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as *The First Oration against Catiline*. The senators shrank from the conspirator and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his

[7] The so-called Third Mithradatic War (74–64 B.C.). What is known as the Second Mithradatic War (83–82 B.C.) was a short conflict that arose just after the close of the First (sec. 371, n. 6). The chief conduct of the present war had been in the hands of Lucius L. Lucullus.

[8] Some authorities, however, say that he was murdered by his son.

THE ROMAN DOMINIONS
AT THE END OF THE
MITHRADATIC WAR
B. C. 64
SCYTHIA
THRACE
PONTUS
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
SPAIN
GALLIA
ITALIA
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
CYRENAICA
EGYPT
CILICIA
SYRIA
JUDEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
MACEDONIA
ACHAIA
LYCIA
PHRYGIA
VENETI
HELVETIA
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
ILLYRICUM
VENETIA
LIGURIA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
ROME
Rhine R.
Loire R.
Garumna R.
Danube R.
Rubicon R.
Tiber R.
Euphrates
Tigris
Greater Syrtis
Lutetia
Alesia
Aquileia
Ravenna
Lucca
Pistoria
Massilia
Narbo
Tarraco
Numantia
New Carthage
Gades
Aquæ Sextiæ
Vercellæ
Pidenæ
Corfinium
Epidaurus
Dyrrachium
Venusia
Brundisium
Tarentum
Capua
Mt. Vesuvius
Minturnæ
Circeii
Rhegium
Syracusæ
Utica
Hippo Zarita
Zama
Thapsus
Cercina
Philippi
Byzantium
Thessalonica
Pharsalus
Actium
Athens
Corinth
Megalopolis
Pergamus
Smyrna
Ephesus
Rhodus
Xanthus
Nicomedia
Sinope
Zela
Tarsus
Antioch
Palmyra
Cyrene
Alexandria

guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria he was slain with many of his followers (62 B.C.). His head was borne as a trophy to Rome.

380. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey: the so-called First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). — Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, still it was very easy to foresee that the days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was practically in the hands of ambitious leaders or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the Republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men — Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey — who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still he had identified himself with the democratic party. In every way he courted popular favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (about $1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

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Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about $8,875,000).

With Gnæus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for in settling the countries he subdued he had filled the offices with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces.

What is commonly known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the reputation of Pompey. It was a private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control

of public affairs. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." Through the aid of his colleagues he secured the consulship.

381. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul (58–51 B.C.). — At the end of his consulship Cæsar had assigned him, as proconsul, the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum. Already doubtless he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and German tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such prestige as in other fields had been won and was now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable *Commentaries* Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

The year 55 B.C. marked two notable achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain, but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans (sec. 402).

Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by Cæsar's victories over the Gauls. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

382. Results of the Gallic Wars. — One good result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. This Romanization of Gaul meant the adding of another to the number of Latin nations that were to arise from the break-up of the Roman Empire. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had not conquered Gaul it would have been overrun by the Germans, and would ultimately have become simply an extension of Germany. There would then have been no great Latin nation north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is difficult to imagine what European history would be like if the French nation, with its semi-Italian temperament, instincts, and traditions, had never come into existence.

Another result of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul was the checking of the migratory movements of the German tribes, which gave Græco-Roman civilization time to become thoroughly rooted not only in Gaul but also in Spain and other lands.

383. Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey; Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). — While Cæsar was in Gaul Crassus was leading an army against the Parthians in the East, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar. But his army was almost annihilated by the enemy, and he himself was slain (54 B.C.).

The world now belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. A struggle between them was inevitable. While Cæsar was carrying on his campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his rival. He strove by a princely liberality to win the affections of the common people. On the Field of Mars he erected an immense stone theater with seats for forty thousand spectators. He gave magnificent games and set public tables, and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged he entertained them with gladiatorial combats.

In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of theaters

and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

The Senate, favoring Pompey, made him sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator, and issued a decree that Cæsar should resign his office and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

384. **Cæsar becomes Master of the West** (49–48 B.C.). — As Cæsar marched southward, one city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey, with a few legions, fled to Greece. Within sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of all Italy. His moderation won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla reënacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred.

With order restored in Italy, and with Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain brought under his authority, Cæsar was free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East. The armies of the rivals met upon the plains of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's forces were cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing he was assassinated.

385. **A Laconic Message; End of the Civil War.** — Cæsar, who had followed Pompey to Egypt, was detained there nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne. The kingdom was finally secured to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was now brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithradates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war (47 B.C.). His laconic message to the Senate announcing his victory is famous. It ran thus: "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (I came, I saw, I conquered).

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the friends of the old Republic had made their last chief rallying place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) they were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato,[9] who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the Republic, took his own life.

386. Cæsar as an Uncrowned King. — Cæsar was now virtually lord of the Roman world.[10] He refrained from taking the title of king, but he assumed the purple robe, the insignia of royalty, and caused his effigy to be stamped, after the manner of sovereigns, on the public coins. His statue was significantly given a place along with those of the seven kings of early Rome. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The Senate made him perpetual dictator (44 B.C.), and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Thus, though not a king in name, Cæsar's actual position at the head of the state was that of an absolute ruler.

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387. Cæsar as a Statesman. — Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. He had great plans which embraced the whole world that Rome had conquered. A chief aim of his was to establish between the different classes of the empire equality of rights, to place Italy and the provinces on the same footing, to blend the various races and peoples into a real nation, — in a word, to carry to completion that great work of making all the world Roman which had been begun in the earliest times. To this end he established numerous colonies in the provinces and settled in them the poorer citizens of the capital. With a liberality that astonished and offended many, he admitted to the Senate sons of freedmen, and particularly representative men from among the Gauls, and conferred upon individual provincials, and upon entire classes and communities in the provinces, the partial or full rights of the city. His action

[9] This was a grandson of Cato the Censor (sec. 355).

[10] The sons of Pompey — Gnæus and Sextus — had headed a revolt in Spain. Cæsar crushed the movement a little later in the decisive battle of Munda (45 B.C.).

here marks an epoch in the history of Rome. The immunities and privileges of the city had never hitherto been conferred, save in exceptional cases, upon any peoples other than those of the Italian race. Cæsar threw the gates of the city wide open to the non-Italian peoples of the provinces. Thus was foreshadowed the day when all freemen throughout the whole empire should be Roman in name and privilege[11] (sec. 416).

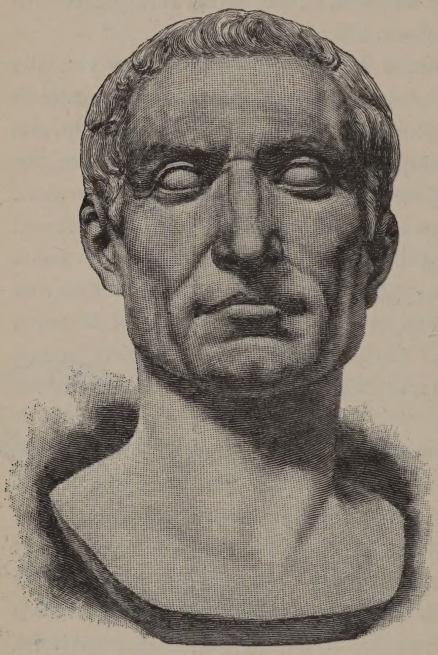

FIG. 86. — JULIUS CÆSAR
(Vatican Museum)

As Pontifex Maximus Cæsar reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year. This is what is called the Julian Calendar.[12]

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many other undertakings which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution.

[11] One of the most important of all Cæsar's laws was that known as the *Lex Julia Municipalis* (45 B.C.). All the municipal governments organized after this, whether in towns in Italy or in the provinces, conformed to the principles embodied in this important constitutional measure.

[12] This calendar was in general use in Europe until the year 1582, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, and became what is known as the Gregorian Calendar. This in time came in vogue in all Christian countries save Russia, where the Julian Calendar is still followed.

388. The Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.). — Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old Republic to whom he was the destroyer of republican liberties. The impression began to prevail that he was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by the consul Mark Antony; but seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, the fabled cradle of the Roman race, and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman Empire. Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the center of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old Republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the Senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." No sooner had he entered the hall where the Senate assembled that day, and taken his seat, than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*" (Thou, too, Brutus!), then to have drawn his mantle over his face and to have received unresistingly their further thrusts.

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The Romans had killed many of their best men and cut short their work; but never had they killed such a man as Cæsar. He was the greatest man their race had yet produced or was destined ever to produce.

Cæsar's work was left all incomplete. What lends to it such great historical importance is the fact that in his reforms and policies Cæsar drew the broad lines which his successors followed, and indicated the principles on which the government of the future must be based.

389. **The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.); the Death of Cicero.** — Antony, the friend and secretary of Cæsar, had gained possession of his will and papers, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator according to a decree of the Senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation. He was aided in his designs by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives."

To what lengths Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the young grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and adopted as his son. Upon the Senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The outcome of a conference was a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Sulla, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero, — who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes, — and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!"

His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and dispatched him in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome and set up in the Forum. The right hand of the victim — the hand that had penned the eloquent orations — was nailed to the Rostra.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were reënacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

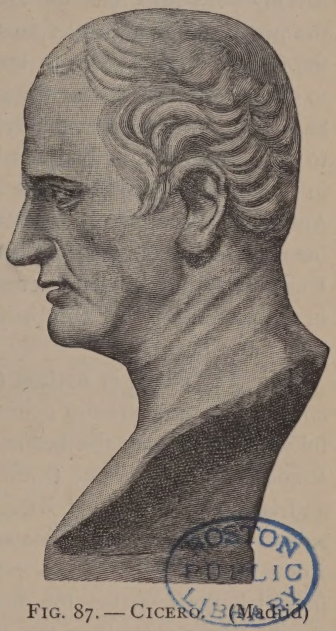
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FIG. 87. — CICERO. (Madrid)

390. Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.); the Roman World in the Hands of Antony and Octavius. — The friends of the old Republic and the enemies of the triumvirs were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius, who had fled from Rome after the assassination of Cæsar, were the animating spirits. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece to disperse the forces of the republicans there.

At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met (42 B.C.). The new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the Republic lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the Republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the Empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme

power. Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters, — Antony in the East and Octavius in the West.

391. **Antony and Cleopatra.** — After the battle of Philippi Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of the provinces and vassal states there. He summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, relying upon the power of her charms to appease the anger of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver and sails of purple silk. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else, — ambition and honor and country.

392. **The Battle of Actium** (31 B.C.). — Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as the heir of the Empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a struggle was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City.

Both parties made the most gigantic preparations for the inevitable conflict. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the western coast of Greece. While the issue of the battle was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel and became

her partner in the disgraceful flight. The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.

393. Death of Antony and of Cleopatra; Egypt becomes a Roman Province. — Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome to grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. With the death of Cleopatra the noted dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end. Egypt was henceforth a province of the Roman state.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Gaius Gracchus. 2. Tales illustrating the wrongs of the Italian allies. 3. Mithradates the Great. 4. Sertorius. 5. Spartacus and the gladiators. 6. Verres in Sicily. 7. Lucius Licinius Lucullus. 8. Mommsen's estimate of Cæsar.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

(31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

394. The Character of the Imperial Government. — The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman Republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remold its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman Empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon are not to be compared with it for a moment."

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute power under the forms of the old republican state. He did not take the title of king. He knew how hateful to the people that name had been since the expulsion of the Tarquins, and was mindful how many of the best men of Rome, including the great Julius, had perished because they gave the people reason to think that they were aiming at the regal power. Nor did he take the title of dictator, a name that since the time of Sulla had been almost as intolerable to the people as that of king. But he adopted the title of *Imperator*, — whence the name *Emperor*, — a title which, although it carried with it the absolute authority of the commander of the legions, still had clinging to it no odious memories. He

also received from the Senate the honorary surname of *Augustus*, a title that hitherto had been sacred to the gods, and hence was free from all sinister associations. A monument of this act was erected in the calendar. It was decreed by the Senate that the sixth month of the Roman year should be called Augustus (whence our August) in commemoration of the Imperator, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name Julius (whence our July) in honor of Julius Cæsar.

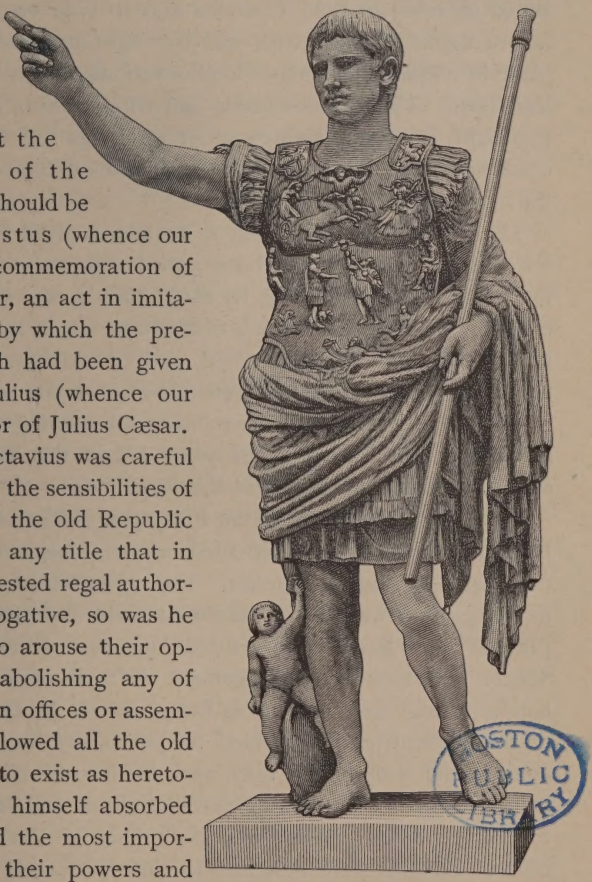

FIG. 88.— AUGUSTUS
(Vatican Museum)

And as Octavius was careful not to wound the sensibilities of the lovers of the old Republic by assuming any title that in any way suggested regal authority and prerogative, so was he careful not to arouse their opposition by abolishing any of the republican offices or assemblies. He allowed all the old magistracies to exist as heretofore; but he himself absorbed and exercised the most important part of their powers and functions. The consuls and all the other republican magistrates were elected as usual; but they were virtually only the nominees and creatures of the Emperor. They were the effigies and figure-heads which deluded the people into believing that the Republic

still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

Likewise all the popular assemblies remained and were convened as usual to hold elections and to vote on measures laid before them. But Octavius had the right to summon them, to place in nomination persons for the various offices, and to initiate legislation. The titular consuls and tribunes also, it is true, had this right, but after the new order of things had become firmly established they dared not exercise it without the concurrence of the new master of the state.

The Senate still existed, but it was shorn of all real independence, since Augustus had been armed with the censorial power for the purpose of revising its lists. This power Octavius exercised by reducing the number of senators, which had been raised to one thousand, to six hundred, and by striking from the rolls the names of unworthy members and of obstinate republicans.

We may summarize all these changes by saying that the monarchy abolished five hundred years before this was now rising again amidst the old forms of the Republic.

395. **The Government of the Provinces.** — The revolution that brought in the Empire effected a great improvement in the condition of the provincials. The government of all those provinces that were in an unsettled state and that needed the presence of a large military force Augustus[1] withdrew from the Senate and took the management of their affairs in his own hands. These were known as the *provinces of Cæsar*. Instead of these countries being ruled by practically irresponsible proconsuls and proprætors, they were henceforth ruled by legates of the Emperor, who were removable at his will and answerable to him for the faithful and honest discharge of the duties of their offices. Salaries were attached to their positions, and thus the scandalous abuses which had grown up in connection with the earlier system of self-payment through fees, requisitions, and like devices were swept away. These provinces were given, as we should say, a pure and able civil service.

[1] From this on we shall refer to Octavius by this his honorary surname.

The more tranquil provinces were still left under the control of the Senate, and were known as *public provinces*. These also profited by the change, since the Emperor extended his care and watch to them, and, as the judge of last appeal, righted wrongs and punished flagrant offenders against right and justice.

396. The Defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). — The reign of Augustus was marked by one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman legions. The general Quintilius Varus had made the mistake of supposing that he could rule the freedom-loving Germans, who had in part been brought under Roman authority, just as he had governed the servile Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, and had thereby stirred them to determined revolt. While the general was leading an army of three legions, numbering altogether about twenty thousand men, through the almost pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood, he was surprised by the barbarians under their brave chieftain Hermann, — called Arminius by the Romans, — and his army destroyed.

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome. Augustus, wearied and worn already with the cares of empire and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions! give me back my legions!"

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The victory of Arminius over the Romans was an event of great significance in the history of European civilization. The Germans were on the point of being completely subjugated and put in the way of being Romanized, as the Celts of Gaul had already been. Had this occurred, the history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Among these barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.

397. Literature and the Arts under Augustus. — The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. Although the government of Augustus, as we have learned, was

disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, had the civilized world enjoyed so long a period of general rest from the turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the existence of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war.

This long repose from the strife that had filled all the preceding centuries was favorable to the upspringing of literature and art. Under the patronage of the Emperor and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this the Golden Age of Latin literature. During this reign Vergil composed his immortal epic of the *Æneid*, and Horace his famous odes, while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his fancy-inspiring *Metamorphoses*. Many who lamented the fall of the Republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures, including temples, theaters, porticoes, baths, and aqueducts. He said proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble."

398. Social and Religious Life at Rome under Augustus. — A striking feature of life at Rome at this time was the growing infatuation of the people for the bloody spectacles of the amphitheater (sec. 464). Even the prudent Augustus lavished on these shows money without measure or stint. He himself tells us that besides a great naval spectacle he gave eight gladiatorial exhibitions, in which ten thousand men fought on the arena.

For a long time before the fall of the Republic, the decay of religious faith had been going on. Augustus did all in his power to arrest the process. He restored the temples that had fallen into decay, erected new ones not only at Rome but in every part of the Empire, and in every way strove to awaken in the people fresh veneration for the ancestral deities of Rome.

It is preëminently worthy of note that it was in the midst of the happy reign of Augustus, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, — the doors of the temple of Janus having been closed, — that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome; yet it was filled with profound significance not only for the Roman Empire but for the world.

399. The Death and Deification of Augustus. — In the year A.D. 14 Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. By decree of the Senate divine worship was accorded to him and temples were erected in his honor. At first blush this worship of the dead Cæsar seems to us strange and impious. But it will not seem so if we put ourselves at the point of view of the old Roman. It was the natural and logical outcome of ancestor worship, which, as we have learned, was a favorite cult among the Romans (sec. 288). The sentiment and belief which prompted the offerings of gifts and prayers to the guardian spirits of the family would naturally lead to similar offerings to the spirit of the departed Cæsar, father of the Roman state.

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints* (University of Pennsylvania), vol. v, No. 7, "Monumentum Ancyranum." This forms one of the most important of the original sources for the reign of Augustus. It is a long bilingual inscription (Latin and Greek) discovered in 1595 on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra (whence the name), in Asia Minor. MUNRO, *A Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 143–148, 221, and 222.

Secondary Works. — INGE, W. R., *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, chap. i, "Religion." CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. v, "Victory of Arminius over the Roman Legions under Varus, A.D. 9." CAPES, W. W., *The Early Empire*, chap. i, "Augustus." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, chap. iii. BURY, J. B., *The Roman Empire*, pp. 1–149. ALLCROFT, A. H., and HAYDON, J. H., *The Early Principate*, chaps. i–vii. FIRTH, J. B., *Augustus Cæsar*. MERIVALE, C., *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 7 vols. See vol. iii, chaps. xxx and xxxi, and vol. iv.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. In theory the government of the early Empire was a diarchy, — that is, a joint rule of the Emperor and the Senate. How real was the participation of the Senate in the government? 2. Administration of the provinces under the early Empire. 3. The defeat of Varus. 4. Life at Rome under Augustus. 5. The cult of the Emperor.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ROMAN CITIZENS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE

These figures embody what is perhaps the most important matter in Roman history, namely, the gradual admission of unprivileged commoners and of aliens to the full rights of the city until every freeman in the civilized world had become a citizen of Rome. This movement we have endeavored to trace in the text. Consult particularly secs. 301, 303, 307, 317, 319, 367, 368, 387, 402, and 416.

	Citizens of Military Age
Under the later kings (Mommsen's estimate)	20,000
338 B.C.	165,000[2]
293 "	262,322
251 "	279,797
220 "	270,213
204 "	214,000[3]
164 "	327,022
115 "	394,336
70 "	900,000 (?)
27 "	4,063,000[4]
8 "	4,233,000
13 A.D.	4,937,000
47 " (under Claudius)	6,944,000

[2] These figures do not include the inhabitants of the Latin colonies nor of the allied states.

[3] The falling off from the number of the preceding census of 220 B.C. was a result of the Hannibalic War.

[4] These figures and those of the enumerations for 8 B.C. and 13 A.D. are from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The increased number given by the census of 70 B.C. over that of 115 B.C. registers the result of the admission to the city of the Italians at the end of the Social War (sec. 367).

CHAPTER XXXII

FROM TIBERIUS TO THE ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN

(A.D. 14–284)

400. Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). — Tiberius, the adopted stepson of Augustus, became his successor. During the first years of his reign he used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire; and even to the last his government of the provinces was just and beneficent.

But unfortunately Tiberius was of a morose, suspicious, and jealous nature, and the opposition which he experienced in the capital caused him, in his contest with his political and personal enemies, soon to institute there a most high-handed tyranny. He enforced oppressively an old law, known as the *Law of Majestas*, which made it a capital offense for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain an unfriendly thought, respecting the Emperor. Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called *delators*, who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were made to gratify personal enmity; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

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Tiberius appointed as his chief minister and as commander of the prætorian guard[1] one Sejanus, a person of the lowest and most corrupt life. Then he retired to Capreæ, an islet in the Bay of Naples, and left to this man the management of affairs at the capital. For a time Sejanus ruled at Rome very much according to his own will. No man's life was safe. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the Emperor himself. His

[1] This was a corps of select soldiers which had been created by Augustus, and which was designed as a bodyguard to the Emperor. It numbered about 10,000 men, and was given a permanent camp near one of the city gates. It soon became a formidable power in the state and made and unmade emperors at will.

designs, however, became known to Tiberius, and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death. After the execution of his minister Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Many sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide.

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the Empire, preaching everywhere the "glad tidings." Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture, the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the inexpressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes, — all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new doctrines. In less than three centuries the pagan Empire had become Christian not only in name but also very largely in fact.

401. Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41). — Tiberius was followed by Gaius Cæsar, better known as Caligula. After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the Empire, the mind of the young Emperor became unsettled. He soon gave himself up to a life of dissipation. The cruel sports of the amphitheater possessed for him a strange fascination. He even entered the lists himself and fought as a gladiator upon the arena. After four years his insane career was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

402. Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54). — Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, made his reign a landmark in the constitutional history of Rome by the admission of the Gallic nobles to the Roman Senate and the magistracies of the city. Tacitus has given us a paraphrase of a speech which the Emperor made before the Senate in answer to the objections which were urged against such a course. The Emperor touched first upon the fact that his own most ancient ancestor, although of Sabine origin, had been received into the city and made a member of the patrician order. This liberal policy of the fathers ought, he thought, to be followed by himself in his conduct of public affairs.

Men of special talent, wherever found, should be transferred to Rome. "Nor am I unmindful of the fact," he continued, "that . . . from Etruria and Lucania and all Italy persons have been received into the Roman Senate. Finally, the city was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. Is it a matter of regret to us that the Balbi came to us from Spain? that men not less distinguished migrated to Rome from Gallia Narbonensis? The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this, — that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?" [2] The generous policy here advocated by Claudius was acted upon, at least as to a part of the Gallic nobility, who were given admission to the Roman Senate.

In the field of military enterprise the reign of Claudius was signalized by the conquest of Britain. Nearly a century had passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar. The southern part of the island was now subjugated and made into a province under the name of *Britannia* (A.D. 43). Many towns soon sprang up here, which in time became important centers of Roman trade and culture, and some of which were the beginnings of great English towns of to-day.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. For his fourth wife he married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero, then only sixteen years of age.

403. Reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68). — Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca (sec. 457); but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity; then he gradually broke away from

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23. Compare these sentiments of Claudius with those of Titus Manlius (sec. 319).

the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity.

It was in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 64) that the so-called "Great Fire" laid more than half of Rome in ashes. For six days and nights the flames surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills covered by the city. It was rumored that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted in order to clear the ground so that he could rebuild the city on a more magnificent plan, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle and amused himself by singing a poem of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*. To turn attention from himself, Nero accused the Christians of having conspired to burn the city in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this persecution.

The Emperor was extravagant, and consequently always in need of money, which he secured through murders and confiscations. Among his victims was his old preceptor Seneca, who was immensely rich. On the charge of treason, he condemned him to death and confiscated his estate.

At last the Senate, Nero being absent from Rome in the East, declared him a public enemy and condemned him to death by scourging, to avoid which, aided by a servant, he took his own life.

Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

404. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68–69). — These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the

legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

405. **Reign of Vespasian** (A.D. 69–79). — The accession of Flavius Vespasian marks the beginning of a period, embracing three reigns, known as the Flavian Age (A.D. 69–96). One of

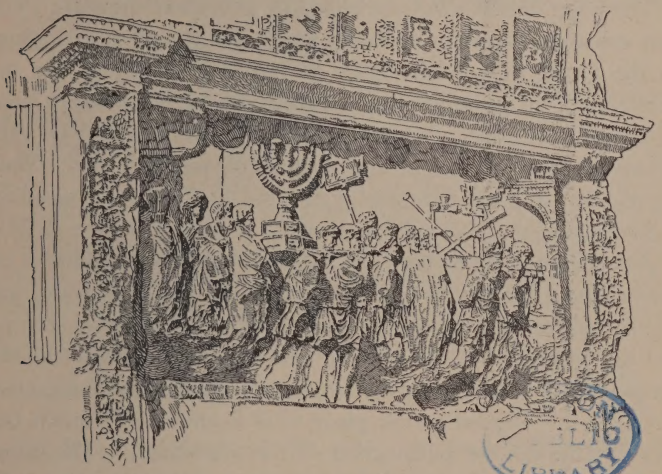

FIG. 89. — TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS
(From a photograph)

Showing the seven-branched candlestick and other trophies from the temple at Jerusalem

the most memorable events of Vespasian's reign was the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, the city was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The temple was destroyed, and more than a million Jews who had crowded into the city are believed to have perished. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the temple of its sacred utensils and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the

present day the sculptured representation of the seven-branched golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

After a most prosperous reign of ten years Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first Emperor after Augustus who had not met with a violent death.

406. Reign of Titus (A.D. 79–81). — In a short reign of two years Titus won the title of "the Friend and the Delight of Mankind." He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors.

The reign of Titus was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.[3]

407. Reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). — Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, whose rule, after the first few years, was one succession of murders and confiscations. This cruel severity was the outgrowth of the contest between the Emperor and the Senate, which in this reign was renewed with extreme bitterness.

Under this Emperor took place what is known in Church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." The name of Domitian's niece Domitilla has been preserved as one of the victims of this persecution. This is significant, since it shows that the new faith was thus early finding adherents among the higher classes, even in the royal household itself.

Domitian perished in his own palace and by the hands of members of his own household. The Senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments.

[3] In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii and revealed to us the streets, homes, theaters, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city, — all of which presents to us a very vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period eighteen hundred years ago.

408. The Five Good Emperors; Reign of Nerva (A.D. 96–98). — The five emperors — Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines — who succeeded Domitian were elected by the Senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the Empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors."

Nerva, who was an aged senator and an ex-consul, ruled paternally. He died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the scepter

FIG. 90. — BESIEGING A DACIAN CITY. (From Trajan's Column)

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passed into the hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.

409. Reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117). — Trajan was a native of Spain and a soldier by profession and talent. He was the first provincial to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. From this time forward provincials were to play a part of ever-increasing importance in the affairs of the Empire.

It was the policy of Augustus — a policy adopted by most of his successors — to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman Empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers. In the early part of his reign he was busied in wars against the Dacians, a people living

north of the Lower Danube. These troublesome enemies were subjugated, and Dacia was made into a province. The modern name Rumania is a monument of this Roman conquest and colonization beyond the Danube. The Rumanians to-day speak a language that in its main elements is largely of Latin origin.[4]

In the latter years of his reign Trajan led his legions to the East, crossed the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the lands which once formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. Out of the territories he had conquered Trajan made three new provinces, which bore the ancient names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the Empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

Respecting the rapid spread of Christianity at this time, the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world, we have very important evidence in a certain letter written by Pliny the Younger to the Emperor in regard to the Christians of Pontus, in Asia Minor, of which remote province Pliny was governor. Pliny speaks of the new creed as a "contagious superstition that had seized not cities only but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Nevertheless, because the Christians steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people.

410. Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). — Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He prudently abandoned the territory that had been acquired by Trajan beyond the Euphrates, and made that stream once more the eastern boundary of the Empire.

[4] The Romanic-speaking peoples of Rumania and the neighboring regions number about ten millions.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT

(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

Scale of Miles.

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More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the Empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous rampart, known as Hadrian's Wall, across the island from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. This wall, in places well preserved, can still be traced over the low hills of the English moorlands almost from sea to sea. There exists nowhere in the lands that once formed the provinces of the empire of Rome any more impressive memorial of her world-wide dominion than these

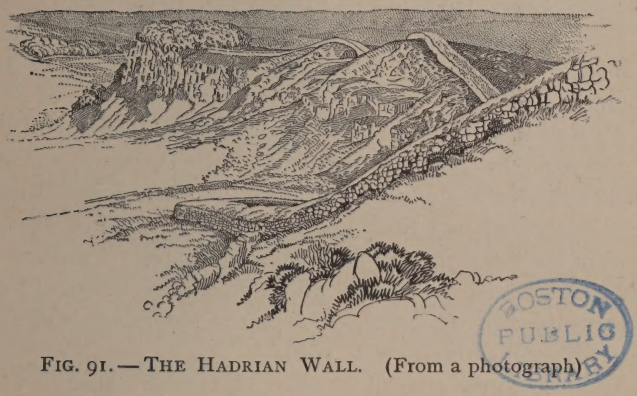
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FIG. 91. — THE HADRIAN WALL. (From a photograph)

ramparts, along which for three hundred years and more her sentinels kept watch and ward for civilization against the barbarian marauders of Caledonia.

In the year 132 the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation, broke out in desperate revolt, because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the almost desolate site of Jerusalem, and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the holy temple. More than half a million of Jews are said to have perished in the hopeless struggle, and the most of the survivors were driven into exile, — the last dispersion of the race (A.D. 135).

411. **The Antonines** (A.D. 138–180). — Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave

the Roman Empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years the Empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated epigram, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, had united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. The studious habits of Aurelius won for him the title of Philosopher. He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of pagan antiquity.

Aurelius would have chosen a life passed in quiet and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the Emperor, and a part of Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority (A.D. 165).

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. In the general distress and panic the people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted against them, during which the celebrated Christian fathers, Justin Martyr at Rome and the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, suffered death.

It should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the pagan emperors sprang from political rather than religious motives, and that is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with

the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods and burn incense before their statues. This the Christians steadily refused to do. The neglect of the temple services it was believed angered the gods and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was a main reason of their persecution by the pagan emperors.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman outposts and pouring over the frontiers. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions and hurried beyond the Alps. He checked the inroads of the barbarians, but could not subdue them. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna) in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after ages."

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412. The State of the Provinces. — The close of the auspicious era of the Antonines invites us to cast a glance over the Empire, in order that we may note the condition of the population at large. As we have already observed, the great revolution which brought in the Empire was a revolution which redounded to the interests of the provincials. Even under the worst emperors the administration of affairs in the provinces was as a rule prudent, humane, and just. It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history. Without question there is no basis for a comparison, but only for a contrast, between the condition of the countries of the East and of North Africa under the earlier Roman emperors

and the condition of the same lands to-day under their Mohammedan rulers.

The cities of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local self-government probably equal to that enjoyed to-day by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local

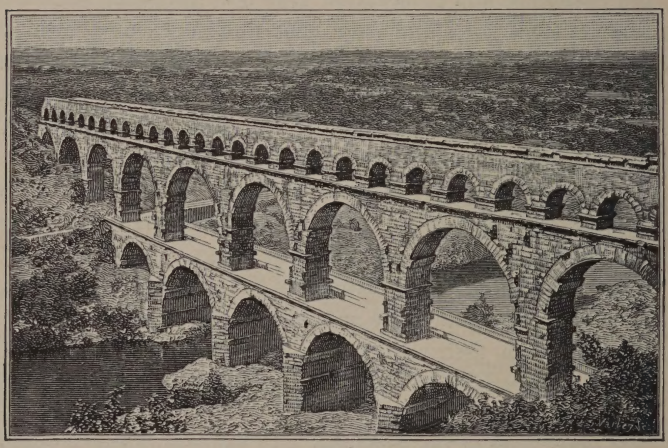

FIG. 92. — ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE
(Present condition)

This aqueduct was built by the Emperor Antoninus Pius

patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theaters, amphitheaters, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges, and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury but by the generous gifts and bequests of individual citizens. Private munificence of this character was as remarkable a feature of this age as is the liberality of individuals at the present day in the endowment of

educational and charitable institutions. As the representative of this form of ancient liberality, we have Herodes Atticus (about A.D. 104–180), a native of Athens. He was the Andrew Carnegie of his time. With a truly royal munificence he built at his own expense at Athens a splendid marble stadium large enough to hold the entire population of the city. To the city of Troas in Asia Minor he made a gift equivalent to over a half million dollars to aid the inhabitants in the construction of an aqueduct.

Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the provinces of the ancient Empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions but also as to the generally wise, fostering, and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule.

413. Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180–192). — Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counselors that the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheater and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flatteries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties and staining the imperial purple with the most detestable crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats. Attired in a lion's skin and armed with the club of Hercules, he valiantly set upon and slew antagonists arrayed to represent mythological monsters and armed with great sponges for rocks. The servile Senate conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules. The Empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves and put him to death.

414. "The Barrack Emperors." — For nearly a century after the death of Commodus (from A.D. 192 to 284) the emperors

were elected by the army, and hence the rulers for this period have been called "the Barrack Emperors." The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time all except four came to death by violence. To internal disorders was added the terror of barbarian invasions. On every side savage hordes were breaking into the Empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.

415. The Public Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193). — The beginning of these troublous times was marked by a shameful proceeding on the part of the prætorians. These soldiers, having slain the successor of Commodus, gave out notice that they would sell the Empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at their camp and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who promised twenty-five thousand sesterces to each of the twelve thousand soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the Empire was three hundred million sesterces ($12,000,000).

As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose in indignant revolt. Each army proclaimed its favorite commander Emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their Emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days. As a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state the unworthy prætorians were disbanded and banished from the capital, and a new bodyguard of fifty thousand legionaries was organized to take their place.

416. Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211–217). — Severus, after a prosperous reign, died in Britain, leaving the Empire to his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla murdered his brother and then ordered Papinian, the celebrated jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide. When that great lawyer

refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital and wandered about the provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some uncomplimentary remarks made by the citizens upon his personal appearance, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in Syria.

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FIG. 93. — CARACALLA. (Museum at Naples)

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the Empire; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes which only Roman citizens had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of the provincials, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province, that, as a mark of special favor, had from time to time been admitted to the rights of citizenship. But by this wholesale act of Caracalla the entire free population of the Empire outside of Italy that did not already possess the rights of the city was made Roman, at least in name and nominal privilege. That vast work of making the whole world Roman, the beginnings of which we saw in the dawn of Roman history (sec. 301), was now completed.[5]

[5] It must not be supposed, however, that the edict of Caracalla did much more than register an already accomplished fact. It seems probable that by this time the greater part of the freemen of the Empire were already enjoying the Roman franchise.

417. The Age of the Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251–268). — For about a generation after Caracalla the imperial scepter passed rapidly from the hands of one emperor to those of another. Then came the so-called Age of the Thirty Tyrants. The throne being held by weak emperors, there sprang up in every part of the Empire competitors for it, — several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the frontiers and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The Empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces. But a fortunate succession of five good emperors — Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284) — restored for a time the ancient boundaries and again forced together into some sort of union the fragments of the shattered state.

The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during this period of anarchy was Zenobia, the ruler of the celebrated city of Palmyra in the Syrian desert. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to Rome. The Emperor Aurelian led in person an army against her. After a long siege Palmyra was taken and, in punishment for a second uprising, given to the flames. The ruins of the city are among the most interesting remains of Græco-Roman civilization in the East.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

I. The Reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305)

418. General Statement. — The accession of Diocletian marks an important era in the history of the Roman Empire. The two matters of chief importance connected with his reign are the changes he effected in the government and his persecution of the Christians.

Diocletian's governmental reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

419. The Empire becomes an Undisguised Oriental Monarchy. — Up to the time we have now reached the really monarchical character of the government had been more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old Republic. Realizing that republican government among the Romans had passed away forever, and that its forms were now absolutely meaningless, Diocletian cast aside all the masks with which Augustus had concealed his practically unlimited power and which fear or policy had led his successors, with greater or less consistency, to retain, and let the government stand forth naked in its true character as an absolute Asiatic monarchy. In contrasting the policy of Augustus with that of Diocletian, Gibbon truly says, "It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded powers which the emperors possessed over the Roman world."

The change was marked by Diocletian's assumption of the titles of Asiatic royalty and his adoption of the court ceremonials and etiquette of the East. All who approached him were required to prostrate themselves to the ground, a form of Oriental and

servile adoration which the free races of the West had hitherto, with manly disdain, refused to render to their magistrates and rulers.

420. **Changes in the Administrative System.** — The century of anarchy which preceded the accession of Diocletian, and the death by assassination during this period of ten of the twenty-five wearers of the imperial purple,[1] had made manifest the need of a system which would discourage assassination and provide a regular mode of succession to the throne. Diocletian devised a system the aim of which was to compass both these ends. First, he chose as a colleague a companion ruler, Maximian, who, like himself, bore the title of Augustus. Then each of the co-emperors associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar and was considered the son and heir of the Emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars. Milan, in Italy, became the capital and residence of Maximian, while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the Empire was thus secured.

A most serious drawback to this system was the heavy expense involved in the maintenance of four courts with their endless retinues of officers and dependents. It was complained that the number of those who received the revenues of the state was greater than that of those who contributed to them. The burden of taxation grew unendurable. The magistrates of the cities and towns were made responsible for the payment of the taxes due the government from their respective communities, and hence officeholding became not an honor to be coveted but a burden to be evaded. It was this vicious system of taxation which more than any other one cause, after slavery, contributed to the depopulation, impoverishment, and final downfall of the Empire.

[1] This enumeration does not include the so-called Thirty Tyrants, of whom many met death by violence.

421. Persecution of the Christians. — Towards the end of his reign Diocletian inaugurated against the Christians a persecution which continued long after his abdication, and which was the severest, as it was the last, waged against the Church by the pagan emperors. The Christians were cast into dungeons, thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheater, burned over a slow fire, and put to death by every other mode of torture that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake their constancy. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and steadfastness shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sometimes sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here they buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

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FIG. 94. — CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD (From the Catacombs)

422. The Abdication of Diocletian (A.D. 304). — After a prosperous reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars.

Diocletian retired to his country seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor with him to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied, "Were you but to come to Salona and see the cabbages which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."

II. Reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337)

423. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (A.D. 312); **"In this Sign conquer."** — Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, had reigned together only one year when the latter died at York, in Britain. His soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine Emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought before he gained the supremacy.

Fig. 95. — The Labarum

One of the most important of the battles that took place between the contending rivals for the imperial purple was the battle of the Milvian Bridge, about two miles from Rome. Constantine's standard on this celebrated battlefield was the Christian cross. He had been led to adopt this emblem through the appearance, as once he prayed to the sun-god, of a cross over the setting sun, with this inscription above it: "In this sign conquer."[2] Obedient unto the celestial vision, Constantine had at once made the cross his banner,[3] and it was beneath this new emblem that his soldiers marched to victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

This act of Constantine constitutes a turning point in the history of the Roman Empire, and especially in that of the Christian Church. Christianity had come into the world as a religion of peace and good will. The Master had commanded his disciples to put up the sword, and had forbidden its use by them either in the spread or in the defense of the new faith. For three centuries now his followers had obeyed literally this injunction of the Founder of the Church, so that a Quaker, non-military spirit had up to this time characterized the new sect. By many of the early Christians the profession of arms had been declared to be incompatible with the Christian life.

[2] *In hoc signo vinces;* in Greek, *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.*

[3] The new standard was called the *Labarum* (from the Celtic *lavar*, command).

Now in a moment all this was changed. The most sacred emblem of the new faith was made a battle standard, and into the new religion was infused the military spirit of the imperial government that had made that emblem the ensign of the state. From the day of the battle at the Milvian Bridge a martial spirit has animated the religion of the Prince of Peace. Since then Christian warriors have often made the cross their battle standard. This infusion into the Church of the military spirit of Rome

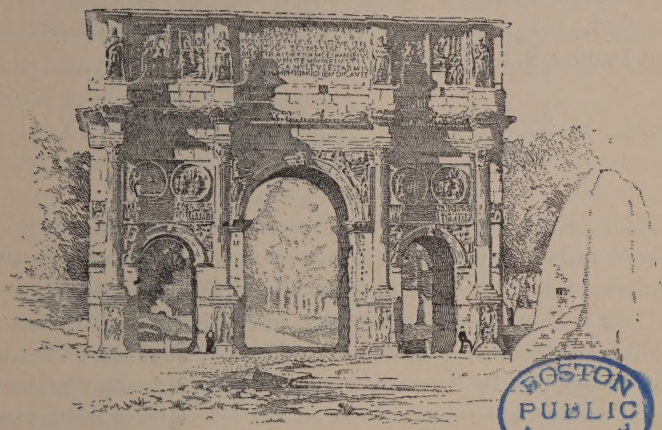
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FIG. 96. — ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

Erected by the Roman Senate in commemoration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge

was one of the most important consequences of the espousal of the Christian cause by the Emperor Constantine.

424. Constantine makes Christianity the Religion of the Court. — By a decree issued at Milan A.D. 313, the year after the battle at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine placed Christianity on an equal footing with the other religions of the Empire. The language of this famous edict of toleration, the Magna Carta, as it has been called, of the Church, was as follows: "We grant to Christians and to all others full liberty of following that religion which each may choose."

But by subsequent edicts Constantine made Christianity in effect the state religion and extended to it a patronage which he withheld from the old pagan worship. By the year A.D. 321 he had granted the Christian societies the right to receive gifts and legacies, and he himself enriched the Church with donations of money and grants of land. This marks the beginning of the great possessions of the Church, and with these the entrance into it of a worldly spirit. From this moment can be traced the decay of its primitive simplicity and a decline from its early high moral standard. It is these deplorable results of the imperial patronage that Dante laments in his well-known lines:

> Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother,
> Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
> Which the first wealthy Father took from thee![4]

Another of Constantine's acts touching the new religion is of special historical interest and importance. He recognized the Christian Sunday, "the day of the sun," as a day of rest, forbidding ordinary work on that day, and ordering that Christian soldiers be then permitted to attend the services of their Church. This recognition by the civil authority of the Christian Sabbath meant much for the slave. Now, for the first time in the history of the Aryan peoples, the slave had one day of rest in each week. It was a good augury of the happier time coming when all the days should be his own.

425. **The Church Council of Nicæa** (A.D. 325). — With a view to settling the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians[5] respecting the nature of Christ, — the former denied his equality with God the Father, — Constantine called the first Œcumenical or General Council of the Church at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

[4] *Inferno*, xix, 115–117.

[5] The Arians were the followers of Arius, a presbyter of Alexander in Egypt; the Athanasians, of Athanasius, archdeacon and later bishop of the same city, and the champion of the orthodox or Catholic view of the Trinity.

426. Constantine founds Constantinople, the New Rome, on the Bosporus (A.D. 330). — After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosporus, as the new capital of the Empire. One reason which led the Emperor to select a new seat for his court and government was the ungracious conduct towards him of the inhabitants of Rome, because he had abandoned the worship of the old national deities. But there were also military reasons, the most dangerous enemies of the Empire being now in the East, and also social and political reasons, since through the Eastern conquests of Rome the center of population, wealth, and culture of the Empire had shifted eastward.

The imperial invitation and the attractions of the court induced multitudes to crowd into the new capital, so that almost in a day the old Byzantium grew into a great city. In honor of the Emperor the name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." The old Rome on the Tiber, emptied of its leading inhabitants, soon sank to the obscure position of a provincial town.

427. The Reorganization of the Government. — Another of Constantine's important acts was the reorganization of the government. In this great reform he seems to have followed, in the main, the broad lines drawn by Diocletian, so that his work may be regarded as a continuation of that of his predecessor.

To aid in the administration of the government, Constantine laid out the Empire into four great divisions called prefectures, which were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and these again into one hundred and sixteen provinces. The purpose that Constantine had in view in laying out the Empire in so many and such small provinces was to diminish the power of the provincial governors, and thus make it impossible for them to raise successfully the standard of revolt.

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428. The Pagan Restoration under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361–363). — A troubled period of nearly a quarter of a century followed the death of Constantine the Great, and then the imperial scepter came into the hands of Julian, called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the

pagan worship. In his efforts to restore paganism, however, Julian did not resort to the old means of persuasion, — "the sword, the fire, the lions." One reason why he did not was because under the softening influences of the very faith he sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already become imbued with a gentleness and humanity that rendered morally impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian's chief weapon was the pen, for he was a writer and satirist of no mean talent.

It was in vain that the apostate Emperor labored to uproot the new faith; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Greek and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown; Great Pan was dead.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363–364). In the army the old pagan standards were replaced by the Labarum, and Christianity was again made the religion of the imperial court.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(A.D. 376–476)

429. Introductory: the Germans and Christianity. — The two most vital elements in the Græco-Roman world of the fifth century were the German barbarians and Christianity. They had, centuries before this, as we have seen, come into certain relations to the Roman government and to Roman life; but during the period lying immediately before us they assumed an altogether new historical interest and importance.

The two main matters, then, which will claim our attention during the century yet remaining for our study, will be (1) the struggle between the dying Empire and the young German races of the North; and (2) the final triumph of Christianity, through the aid of the temporal power, over expiring paganism.

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430. The Goths cross the Danube (A.D. 376). — The year 376 of the Christian era marks an event of the greatest importance in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube appeared as suppliants in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Emperor Valens[1] to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state. Their petition was granted on condition that they surrender their arms and give up their children as hostages.

The enemy that had so terrified the Visigoths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen from the vast steppes

[1] Valens (A.D. 364–378) was Emperor of the East. Valentinian (A.D. 364–375), Emperor of the West, had just died, and been succeeded by Gratian (A.D. 375–383).

of Asia. Scarcely had the fugitives been received within the limits of the Empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible enemy, crowded to the banks of the Danube and pleaded that they also might be allowed to place the river between themselves and their dreaded foe. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request, whereupon they crossed the river with arms in their hands.

Once within the Empire they, joined by their Visigothic kinsmen, soon began to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens dispatched swift messengers to Gratian, Emperor in the West, asking for assistance; but without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, he imprudently risked a battle with the barbarians near Adrianople. The Roman army was almost annihilated and Valens himself was killed (A.D. 378).

Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens when news of his death was brought to him. He at once appointed as his associate Theodosius (A.D. 379–395), known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the East. Theodosius quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Great multitudes of them were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while more than forty thousand of these warlike barbarians, the destined subverters of the Empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

431. **The Prohibition of the Pagan Cults.** — Both Gratian and Theodosius were zealous champions of the orthodox Church, and a large portion of the edicts issued during their joint reign had for aim the uprooting of heresy or the suppression of the pagan worship. Speaking generally, from the accession of Constantine down to the time which we have now reached, the pagans had been allowed full liberty of worship. At first the pagans were merely placed under certain disabilities, but finally it was made a crime for any one to practice any pagan cult, or even to enter a temple. In the year A.D. 392 even the private worship of the Lares and Penates was prohibited. The struggle between Christianity and heathenism was now virtually ended — and the

"Galilean" had conquered. Pagan rites, however, were practiced secretly long after this. Especially did the old home cult of the Lares and Penates linger on in the country districts, from which circumstance the term *pagan* (from *paganus*, the dweller in a *pagus*, or village) came to indicate a follower of the ancient idolatry.

432. Final Division of the Empire (A.D. 395). — The Roman world was united practically for the last time under Theodosius the Great. From A.D. 392 to 395 he ruled as sole Emperor. Just before his death he divided the Empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This division was not to affect the unity of the Empire. There was to be but one Empire, although there were to be two emperors. But as a matter of fact so different was the course of events in the two halves of the old Empire that from this on we shall find it convenient to trace the history of each division separately.

433. The Empire in the East. — The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long here. The line of Eastern emperors lasted over a thousand years, — until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Empire in the West the emperors of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of different barbarian tribes.

434. First Invasion of Italy by Alaric (A.D. 402–403). — Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all parts of the Empire. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general of Honorius, they crossed the Julian

Alps and spread terror throughout Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pollentia and Verona (A.D. 402–403). The captured camp was found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps and escaped.

435. **Last Triumph at Rome** (A.D. 404). — A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutons were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was coupled with that of Marius (sec. 366). A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times — such is asserted to be the number — the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

436. **Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheater.** — The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome signalizes also the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheater. It is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of these inhuman exhibitions is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldiers to the sights of the battlefield. Hence gladiatorial games were sometimes actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns.

But the Christian Fathers denounced the combats as immoral, and labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. At length, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. From this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed

between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by his interruption of their sport. The people, however, soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheater."

437. **The Ransom of Rome** (A.D. 409). — Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he came under the suspicion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians,[2] and who might again have averted similar dangers that were now at hand. Listening to the rash counsel of his unworthy advisers, Honorius provoked to revolt the thirty thousand Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions by a massacre of their wives and children, who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. The Goths beyond the Alps joined with their kinsmen to avenge the perfidious act. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal (sec. 344) — more than six hundred years before this — had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

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Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the Senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the grass, the easier to mow it," was Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city. Small as it comparatively was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the

[2] Shortly after the Gothic invasion of the year 403, Italy was again invaded by a mixed German host led by a chieftain named Radagaisus. At Florence the barbarians were surrounded by the Roman army under Stilicho and forced to surrender.

most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down.

438. **Sack of Rome by Alaric** (A.D. 410). — Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. The chieftain now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the Emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence.

Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the city, resolved upon its sack and plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls (sec. 316). During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it was given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian churches; but the wealth of the citizens he permitted them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palace of the Cæsars and the residences of the wealthy patricians. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the streets of the city were wet with blood, while the nights were lighted by burning buildings.

439. **Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism.** — The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both pagans and Christians throughout the Roman world. The pagans asserted that these unutterable calamities had overtaken the Roman people because of their abandonment of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world.

The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the city the fulfillment of the prophecies of their Scriptures against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. It was this interpretation of the appalling calamity that gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. "Henceforth," says the historian Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance."

440. The Death of Alaric (A.D. 410). — After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jeweled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric's designs of conquest in Africa were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 410. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

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441. The Disintegration of the Empire and the Beginnings of the Barbarian Kingdoms (A.D. 410–451).[3] — We must now turn our eyes from Rome and Italy in order to watch the movement of events in the western provinces of the Empire. During the forty years following the sack of Rome by Alaric, the German tribes seized the greater part of these provinces and established in them what are known as the "Barbarian Kingdoms."

The Goths who had pillaged Rome and Italy, after the death of their great chieftain Alaric, under the lead of his successors,

[3] We choose these dates for the reason that they set off the interval between two great events, — the sack of Rome by Alaric and the battle of Châlons (sec. 442).

recrossed the Alps, and establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up finally in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths (sec. 475).

While the Goths were making these migrations and settlements, a kindred but less civilized tribe, the Vandals, moving from their seat in Pannonia, traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and there occupied for a time a large tract of country, which in its present name of *Andalusia* preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. Then they crossed the straits of Gibraltar, overthrew the Roman authority in all North Africa, and made Carthage the seat of a dreaded corsair empire (sec. 477).

About this same time the Burgundians established themselves in Southeastern Gaul. A portion of the region occupied by these settlers still retains from them the name of *Burgundy*.

Meanwhile the Franks, who about a century before the sack of Rome by Alaric had made their first settlement in Roman territory west of the Rhine, were increasing in numbers and in authority, and were laying the basis of what after the fall of Rome was to become known as the Kingdom of the Franks, — the beginning of the French nation of to-day (sec. 478).

442. **Invasion of the Huns; Battle of Châlons** (A.D. 451). — The barbarians who were thus overrunning and parceling out the inheritance of the dying Empire were now in turn pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than they themselves were in the eyes of the Roman provincials. These were the non-Aryan Huns, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube (sec. 430). At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the "Scourge of God." It was Attila's boast that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of his horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern Emperor and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, seven hundred thousand warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province and then to traverse Italy

with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power. The Romans and their German conquerors united to make common cause against the common enemy. The Visigoths rallied about their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians flocked to the standard of the Roman general Aëtius.[4] Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible, but at last fortune turned against the barbarians, whose losses were enormous. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine.

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history; for it decided that the Christian German folk, and not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire and control the destinies of Europe.

443. Attila threatens Rome; his Death (A.D. 453?). — The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila crossed the Alps and burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings there grew up in time the city of Venice, "the eldest daughter of the Roman Empire," the "Carthage of the Middle Ages."

The barbarians threatened Rome; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila how death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City as a spoil to his warriors, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. Attila was induced to spare the city and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly.

444. Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455). — Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new

[4] Aëtius has been called "the last of the Romans." For twenty years previous to this time he had been the upholder of the imperial authority in Gaul.

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destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal. The kings of the Vandal empire in North Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed all the shore lands. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet led by the dread Geiseric sailed up the Tiber.

Panic seized the people, for the name Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the Imperial City. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the movable property of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them, with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories.[5] From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred things that Titus had stolen from the temple at Jerusalem (sec. 405).

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Carthage, bearing, besides the plunder of the city,[6] more than thirty thousand of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had fallen true (sec. 359). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

[5] It would seem that, in some instances at least, after the closing of the temples to the pagan worship, many of the sacred things, such as war trophies, were left undisturbed in the edifices where they had been placed during pagan times.

[6] "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost." — MERIVALE.

445. End of the Roman Empire in the West (A.D. 476). — Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Africa were in the hands of the Franks, the Vandals, the Goths, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating. During these years several puppet emperors were set up by army leaders. The last was a child of only six years. By what has been called a freak of fortune this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman Emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and the establisher of the Empire. He became known as Augustulus, — "the little Augustus." He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of the Heruli, a small but formidable German tribe, dethroned the child-emperor.

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The Roman Senate now sent to Constantinople an embassy with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office to represent to the Eastern Emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of "patrician," might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire in the East (A.D. 476).

446. The Import of the Break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. — The destruction of the Roman Empire in the West by the German barbarians is one of the most momentous events in history. It marks a turning point in the fortunes of mankind.

The revolution brought it about that for a long time the lamp of culture burned with lessened light. It brought in the so-called "Dark Ages." During this period the new race was slowly lifting itself to the level of culture that the Greeks and Romans had attained.

But the revolution meant much besides disaster and loss. It meant the enrichment of civilization through the incoming of a new and splendidly endowed race. Within the Empire during

several centuries three of the most vital elements of civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, had been gradually blending. Now was added a fourth factor, the Germanic. It is this element which has had very much to do in making modern civilization richer and more progressive than any preceding one.

The downfall of the Roman imperial government in the West was, further, an event of immense significance in the political world for the reason that it rendered possible the growth in Western Europe of several nations or states in place of the single Empire.

Another consequence of the fall of the Roman power in the West was the development of the Papacy. In the absence of an emperor in the West the popes rapidly gained influence and power, and soon built up an ecclesiastical empire that in some respects took the place of the old Empire and carried on its civilizing work.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Manners and customs of the Germans. 2. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose. 3. Alaric the Goth. 4. Attila the Hun. 5. Causes of the downfall of the Empire in the West.

CHAPTER XXXV

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS

I. Architecture

447. Greek Origin of Roman Architecture: the Arch. — The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed, but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and Oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its principle. By means of it the Roman builders vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood to the present day.

448. Sacred Edifices. — The temples of the Romans were in general so like those of the Greeks that we need not here take space to enter into a particular description of them. Mention, however, should be made of their circular vaulted temples, as this was a style of building almost exclusively Italian. The best representative of this style of sacred edifices is the Pantheon at Rome, which has come down to our own times in a state of wonderful preservation. This structure is about one hundred and forty feet in diameter. The immense concrete dome which vaults the building is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master builders of the world.

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449. Circuses, Theaters, and Amphitheaters. — The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was first laid out in the time of the Tarquins and afterwards enlarged as the population of the capital increased until it was capable of holding two or three hundred thousand spectators.

FIG. 97. — THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885

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The Romans borrowed the plan of their theaters from the Greeks; their amphitheaters, however, were original with them. The Flavian amphitheater, known as the Colosseum, was five hundred and seventy-four feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating over forty thousand spectators.[1] The ruins of

FIG. 98. — THE COLOSSEUM. (From a photograph)

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this immense structure stand to-day as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the Roman Empire."

450. Aqueducts.—The aqueducts of ancient Rome were among the most important of the utilitarian works of the Romans. The water system of the capital was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.). During the Republic four aqueducts in all were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.[2] The longest of these was about fifty-five miles in length. The aqueducts usually ran beneath the surface, but when a depression was to be crossed they were lifted on arches, which sometimes were over one hundred feet high.[3] These lofty arches

[1] The old estimate of 80,000 is now regarded as an exaggeration.

[2] Several of these are still in use.

[3] The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.

running in long, broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are to-day the most striking feature of the Campagna.

451. Thermæ, or Baths. — Among the ancient Romans bathing became in time a luxurious art. Under the Republic bathing houses were erected in considerable numbers. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the name *Thermæ* properly attaches, were erected. These edifices were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial

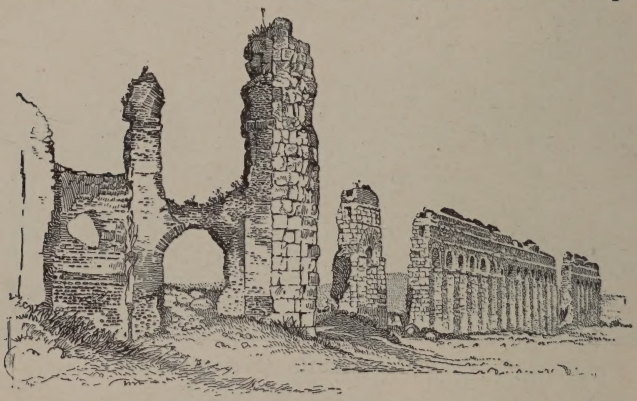

FIG. 99. — THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT. (From a photograph)

works. They contained chambers for cold, hot, and swimming baths; dressing rooms and gymnasia; museums and libraries; covered colonnades for lounging and conversation; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.[4] Being intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, they were thrown open to the public free of charge.

II. LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW

452. Relation of Roman to Greek Literature: the Poets of the Republican Era. — Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; nevertheless it

[4] Lanciani calls these imperial Thermæ "gigantic clubhouses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

performed a most important service for civilization: it was the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece.

It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first studied and copied at Rome. Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence, all of whom wrote under the Republic, are the most noted of the Roman dramatists. Most of their plays were simply adaptations or translations of Greek pieces.

During the later republican era there appeared two poets of distinguished merit, Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius (95–51 B.C.) was an evolutionist, and in his great poem *On the Nature of Things* we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists.

453. Poets of the Augustan Age. — Three poets contributed to cast an unfading luster over the period covered by the reign of Augustus, — Vergil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 18). So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature marked by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to this Roman era, an *Augustan Age* (sec. 397).

454. Satire and Satirists. —Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan at Rome. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature. Two names stand out in special prominence, — Persius (A.D. 34–62) and Juvenal (about A.D. 40–120). After the death of Juvenal the Roman world produced not a single poet of preëminent merit.

455. Oratory among the Romans. — "Public oratory," as has been truly said, "is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it." We have seen this illustrated in the history of republican Athens (sec. 260). Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators

of Rome arose under the Republic. Among these Hortensius (114–50 B.C.), a learned jurist, and Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) stand preëminent. Of these two Cicero is easily first, — "the most eloquent of all the sons of Romulus." [5]

456. Latin Historians. — Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame, — Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Of Cæsar and his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* we have learned in a previous chapter. His *Commentaries* will always be cited along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a model of the narrative style of writing. Sallust (86–34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. The two works upon which his fame rests are the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*.

Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, only thirty-five of the one hundred and forty-two books [6] of this admirable production have been preserved. Many have been the laments over "the lost books of Livy." As a chronicle of actual events, Livy's history, particularly in its earlier parts, is very unreliable; however, it is invaluable as an account of what the Romans themselves believed respecting the founding of their city and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

The most highly prized work of Tacitus is his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans. In this work Tacitus sets in strong contrast the virtues of the untutored Germans and the vices of the cultured Romans.

[5] Even more highly prized than his orations are his letters, for Cicero was a most delightful letter writer. His letters to his friend Atticus are among the most charming specimens of that species of composition.

[6] It should be borne in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books.

457. Science, Ethics, and Philosophy. — Under this head may be grouped the names of Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus.

Seneca (about A.D. 1–65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero (sec. 403). He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from those of Socrates.

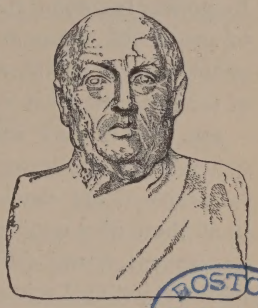
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FIG. 100. — SENECA
From the double bust of Seneca and Socrates in the Berlin Museum

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as an investigator of the phenomena of nature. The only work of his that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, a sort of Roman encyclopedia.

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first place among the ethical teachers of Rome. They were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the philosophy of Zeno (sec. 272). Christianity, giving a larger place to the affections than did Stoicism, was already fast winning the hearts of men.

458. Writers of the Early Latin Church. — The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. As the Latin tongue, however, gradually came into more general use throughout the West, the Christian authors naturally began to use it in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the Fathers of the Church produced in the western half of the Empire during the later imperial period were composed in Latin. Among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period must be mentioned St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342?–420) is held in memory especially through his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one which, with slight changes, is still

used in the Catholic Church. "It was for Europe of the Middle Ages," asserts Mackail, "more than Homer was to Greece."

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354–430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. His *City of God*, a truly wonderful work, possesses a special interest for the historian. The book was written just when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the pagans that Christianity, turning the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state.

459. Roman Law and Law Literature. — Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became Emperor of the Roman Empire in the East. He almost immediately appointed a commission, headed by the great lawyer Tribonian, to collect and arrange in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like that of the decemvirs in connection with the Twelve Tables, only far greater. The result of the work of the commission was what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts, — the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*. The Code[7] was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian; the Pandects (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. The Institutes were a condensed edition of the Pandects, and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students.

[7] A later work called the *Novels* comprised the laws of Justinian subsequent to the completion of the *Code*.

The body of the Roman law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization.[8] It has exerted a profound influence upon the law systems of almost all the European peoples. Thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

III. Social Life

460. Education. — Under the Republic there were no public schools in Rome; education was a private affair. Under the early Empire a mixed system prevailed, there being both public and private schools. Later, education came more completely under the supervision of the state. The salaries of the teachers and lecturers were usually paid by the municipalities, but sometimes from the imperial chest.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical. The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of state.

After their conquest of Magna Græcia and of Greece the Romans were brought into closer relations with Greek culture than had hitherto existed. The Roman youth were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue.

[8] Although the Romans developed a wonderfully complex unwritten constitution, still, aside from their municipal and administrative systems, they made no permanent contribution to the science of constitutional law. It was left for the English people, practically unaided by Roman precedents, to work out the constitution of the modern free state. The primary assemblies of the Romans could afford no instructive precedents in the department of legislation. The practical working of the device of the dual executive of the Republic was not calculated to commend it to later statesmen. The single admirable feature in the composition of the later republican Senate of Rome, namely, the giving of seats in that body to ex-magistrates, has not been imitated by modern constitution makers, though James Bryce, in his commentary on the American Commonwealth, suggests that they might have done so to advantage in the making up of the upper chambers of their legislatures.

Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.

461. Social Position of Woman. — Until after her marriage the daughter of the family was kept in almost Oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the shows of the theater and amphitheater, — a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage.

In the early virtuous period of the Roman state the wife and mother held a dignified and assured position in the household, and divorces were unusual, there being no instance of one, it is said, until the year 231 B.C.; but in later times her position became less honored and divorce grew to be very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

462. Public Amusements; the Theater and the Circus. — The entertainments of the theater, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheater were the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments, in general, increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the Republic. The public exhibitions under the Empire were, in a certain sense, the compensation which the emperors offered the people for their surrender of the right of participation in public affairs; and the people were content to accept the exchange.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome; the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheater

to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theaters usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theaters made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage. Almost from the beginning the Roman stage was gross and immoral. It was one of the main agencies to which must be attributed the undermining of the originally sound moral life of Roman society.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theater were the various games of the circus, especially the chariot races.

463. Animal Baitings. — But far surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the animal baitings and the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheater. The beasts — bears, wolves, lions, crocodiles, elephants, and tigers — required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world and transported to Rome and the other cities of the Empire at enormous expense. The creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of entertainment was introduced and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheater. This was the gladiatorial combat.

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464. The Gladiatorial Combats. — Gladiatorial shows seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the manes of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In later times the prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father in the year 264 B.C. From this

time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had become a perfect infatuation. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living that the spectacles were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended voluntarily into the arena. Training schools were established at Rome and in other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in the art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

FIG. 101. — GLADIATORS
(From an ancient mosaic)

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot, — in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos with which they entangled their adversaries and then slew them. The life of a wounded gladiator was, in ordinary cases, in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators waved their handkerchiefs or reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his prayer had been heard; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to give him the death stroke. Sometimes

the dying were aroused and forced to resume the fight by being burned with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theater. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the Republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which ten thousand gladiators fought upon the arena.[9]

465. Luxury. — By luxury, as we shall use the word, we mean extravagant and self-indulgent living. This vice seems to have been almost unknown in early Rome. The primitive Romans were men of frugal habits, who found contentment in poverty and disdained riches. A great change, however, as we have seen, passed over Roman society after the conquest of the East and the development of the corrupt provincial system of the later Republic. The colossal fortunes quickly and dishonestly amassed by the ruling class marked the incoming at Rome of such a reign of luxury as perhaps no other capital of the world ever witnessed. This luxury was at its height in the last century of the Republic and the first of the Empire. Never perhaps has great wealth been more grossly misused than during this period at Rome.

[9] For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see sec. 436.

466. State Distribution of Corn. — The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the "leading fact of Roman life." It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (sec. 364). Just before the establishment of the Empire over three hundred thousand Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. In the time of the Antonines the number is asserted to have been even larger. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived, in large part, from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. In the third century, to the largesses of corn were added doles of oil, wine, and pork.

The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in enumerating the practice as one of the chief causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

467. Slavery. — The number of slaves under the later Republic and the earlier Empire was very great, some estimates making it equal to the number of freemen. Some large proprietors owned as many as twenty thousand. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the households of the wealthy and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus in some families there was kept a slave whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars, — these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was chiefly recruited, as in Greece, by war and by the practice of kidnapping. Some of the outlying provinces in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave hunters. Delinquent taxpayers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

The feeling entertained towards this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the

Censor's recommendation to masters to sell their old and decrepit slaves in order to save the expense of caring for them. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred towards their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts of the republican period.

Slaves were treated better under the Empire than under the later Republic, — a change to be attributed doubtless to the influence of Stoicism and of Christianity. From the first century of the Empire forward there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity towards the bondsman. Imperial edicts take away from the master the right to kill his slave or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with undue severity. This marks the beginning of a slow reform which in the course of ten or twelve centuries resulted in the complete, or almost complete, abolition of slavery in Christian Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — CATO, *On Agriculture*, chap. ii; the duties of a Roman proprietor. TACITUS, *Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, chaps. xxviii and xxix; the old and the new education. MUNRO, *A Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 179–216.

Secondary Works. — LANCIANI, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome.* SELLAR, W. Y., *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.* MACKAIL, J. W., *Latin Literature.* HADLEY, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, Lect. iii, "The Roman Law before Justinian." GIBBON, chap. xliv, for Roman jurisprudence. This chapter is one of the most noted of Gibbon's great work. INGE, W. R., *Social Life in Rome under the Cæsars.* GUHL, E., and KONER, W., *The Life of the Greeks and Romans;* consult Index. LECKY, W. E. H., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne;* a work of first importance. The student is recommended to read vol. i, chap. ii. DILL, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire;* read bk. v, pp. 321–376, on "Characteristics of Roman Education and Culture in the Fifth Century." PRESTON, H. W., and DODGE, L., *The Private Life of the Romans.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Roman architecture. 2. Roman villas. 3. The Roman roads. 4. Seneca. 5. Pliny the Elder. 6. Society at Rome under the later Empire. See *Dill.* 7. The gladiatorial combats. 8. Marriage ceremonies. 9. Funeral customs. 10. The Roman triumph.

Division IV — The Romano–German or Transition Age

(A.D. 476–800)

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

468. Introductory. — In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the German tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the fall of Rome, of the principal kingdoms set up by the German chieftains in the different parts of the old Empire.

469. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493–554). — Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors (sec. 445). His feeble government in Italy lasted only seventeen years, when it was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493–527), — years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that "the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period."

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, Emperor of the East, taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy from the

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rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was reunited to the Empire (A.D. 554).

470. **Kingdom of the Visigoths** (A.D. 415–711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. Being driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, the Visigoths held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracen invasion. The Visigothic kingdom when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

471. **Kingdom of the Burgundians** (A.D. 443–534). — The Burgundians we have already noticed as the founders of a principality in Southeastern Gaul (sec. 441). They were hardly well established in these parts before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by them to a state of dependence.

472. **Kingdom of the Vandals** (A.D. 429–533). — We have also previously spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their king Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome (sec. 444).

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Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, the Byzantine emperor Justinian sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the

physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

473. **The Franks under the Merovingians** (A.D. 486–752). — Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen (sec. 441), were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Clovis. Upon the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, Clovis conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarian tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians[1] had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously called *rois fainéants*, or "do-nothing kings," and an ambitious officer of the crown, known as Mayor of the Palace, in a way that will be explained a little later, pushed aside the weak Merovingian king and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line, — the Carolingian.

474. **Kingdom of the Lombards** (A.D. 568–774). — Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian (sec. 469), before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the Empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards. When they entered Italy the Lombards were Christians of the Arian sect; but in time they became converts to the orthodox faith, and Pope

[1] So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

Gregory I bestowed upon their king a diadem which came to be known as the "Iron Crown," for the reason that there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

The Kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will to-day occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

475. The Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain. — In the fifth century of our era, being then engaged in her death struggle with the barbarians, Rome withdrew her legions from Britain in order to protect Italy. Thus that province was left exposed to the depredations of the Anglo-Saxon corsairs from the Continent. No other province of the Roman Empire made such determined and heroic resistance against the barbarians. It is to this period of desperate struggle that the famous King Arthur belongs. The legends that have gathered about the name of this national hero are mostly mythical; yet it is possible that he had a real existence and that the name represents one or more of the most valiant of the Celtic chiefs who battled so long and heroically against the pagan invaders.

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The conquerors of Britain belonged to three Teutonic tribes, — the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, — but among the Celts they all passed under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the conquered parts of the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms, — frequently designated, though somewhat inaccurately, as the *Heptarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802–839),

brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

476. **Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire.**—We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old Empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the Fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners, and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (trans. by Thomas Hodgkin). Read bk. i, letters 24 and 35; bk. ii, letters 32 and 34; bk. iii, letters 17, 19, 29, 31, and 43; bk. xi, letters 12 and 13; bk. xii, letter 20. These letters are invaluable in showing what was the condition of things in the transition period between ancient and mediæval times.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. The Conversion of the Barbarians

477. Introductory.—The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the Empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian. For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives.

478. Conversion of the Goths, Vandals, and Other Tribes. — The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the Empire were won from among the Goths. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulfilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, the Books of the Kings, as he feared that the stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

What happened in the case of the Goths happened also in the case of most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Rome the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians had become proselytes to Christianity. They, however, professed the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nicæa during the reign of Constantine the Great. Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed, which good work was gradually accomplished.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

479. Conversion of the Franks; Importance of this Event. — The Franks when they entered the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances, as reported by tradition, were these. In a terrible battle between the Alemanni and the Franks under their king Clovis, the situation of the Franks had become desperate. Then Clovis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, and vowed that if he would give him the victory he would become his follower. The battle turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him three thousand of his warriors.

This story of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks illustrates how the belief of the barbarians in omens and divine interpositions, and particularly their feeling that if their gods did not do for them all they wanted done they had a right to set them aside and choose others in their stead, contributed to their conversion, and how the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair rather than a matter of personal conviction.

"The conversion of the Franks," says the historian Milman, "was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other German invaders of the Empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

480. Augustine's Mission to England. — In the year A.D. 596 Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose

people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them; and being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.[1]

One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reëstablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century. As Green says, — he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine, — "The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengist had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors, returned with the Christian faith."

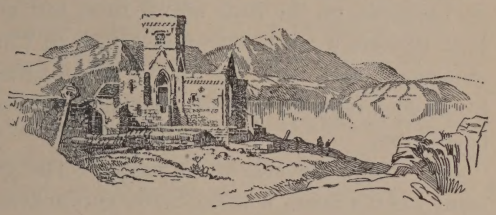

FIG. 102. — THE RUINS OF IONA
(After an old drawing)

"That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." — DR. JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*

481. The Conversion of Ireland; Iona. — The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint

[1] Read the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 13 (Bohn). Bede the Venerable (about A.D. 673–735) was a pious and learned Northumbrian monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ("The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation").

of Ireland. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

482. **The Conversion of Germany.** — The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

The Christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic folk of Western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in Central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.

483. **Christianity in the North.** — The progress of Christianity in the North was slow; but gradually, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the missionaries of the Church won over all the Scandinavian peoples. One important effect of their conversion was the checking of those piratical expeditions which during all the centuries of their pagan history had been constantly putting out from the fiords of the Northern peninsulas and vexing every shore to the south.

By about the year 1000 all Europe was claimed by Christianity, save the regions of the Northwest about the Baltic, which were

inhabited chiefly by the still pagan Finns and Lapps, parts of what is now Russia,[2] and the larger portion of the Iberian peninsula, which was in the hands of the Mohammedan Moors.

II. The Rise of Monasticism

484. Monasticism defined; the System fostered by Scripture Teachings. — It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This term, in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits, or anchorites, — persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites, or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

Christian asceticism was fostered by teachings drawn from various texts of the Bible. Thus Christ himself had declared, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple"; [3] and, again, he had said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor." [4] These passages, and others like them, taken literally, tended greatly to confirm the belief of the ascetic that his life of isolation and poverty and abstinence was the most perfect life and the surest way to win salvation.

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St. Antony, an Egyptian ascetic (b. about A.D. 251), who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the movement, is called the Father of the Hermits. But the most renowned of all the anchorites of the East was St. Simeon Stylites, the Saint of the Pillar (d. A.D. 459), who spent thirty-six years on

[2] The real beginning of the conversion of Russia dates from about the close of the tenth century. Its evangelization was effected by the missionaries of Constantinople, that is, of the Greek or Eastern Church.

[3] Luke xiv. 26.

[4] Matthew xix. 21.

a column only three feet in diameter at the top, which he had gradually raised to a height of over fifty feet.[5]

485. **Monasticism in the West.** — During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands, and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

486. **The Rule of St. Benedict.** — With the view of introducing some sort of regularity in regard to the practices and austerities of the monks, rules for their observance were early prescribed. The three essential requirements or vows were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480–543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples, in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sec. 459) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that required the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

487. **Services of the Monks to Civilization.** — The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great

[5] Read Tennyson's poem, "St. Simeon Stylites."

advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe.

FIG. 103. — A MONK COPYIST
(From a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the homes for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also busied themselves as copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. They became also the chroniclers of the events of their own times, so that it is to them we are indebted for a great part of our knowledge of the early mediæval centuries. Thus the scriptorium, or writing-room of the monastery, held the place in mediæval society that the great publishing house holds in the modern world.

The monks became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.

III. The Rise of the Papacy

488. **The Empire within the Empire.** — Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of which deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction. Besides the influence of great men, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I, who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy and aided them vastly in establishing the almost universal authority of the see of Rome. In the following paragraphs we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

489. **The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome.** — It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow-apostles. This belief was fostered by the fact that Christ had intrusted that disciple with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and had invested him with authority as a teacher and interpreter of the Word by the commission, "Feed my lambs; . . . feed my sheep," thus giving into his charge the entire flock of the Church. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the church at Rome. Without doubt he preached there and suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Nero.

These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of the first of the apostles and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly, of course, to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

490. Advantage of their Position at the Political Center of the World. — The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

491. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. — Then, when the barbarians came, there came a propitious occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the Imperial City; and how the same bishop, in the year A.D. 455, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (secs. 443 and 444).

Thus when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman see.

492. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. — But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to

the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the Emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in Western Europe, and, being so far removed from the court at Constantinople, gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians, and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

493. **The Missions of Rome.** — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church at Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the holy see and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the Continent they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

494. **Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens.** — In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the church at Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

495. **The Iconoclastic Controversy; the Popes become Temporal Sovereigns.** — A dispute about the use of images in worship, known

in Church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts," [6] which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs.

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 717, was a zealous Iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the Emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these symbols. To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the Emperor and the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church. Though images — paintings and mosaics only — were permanently restored in the Eastern churches in 842, still by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed. The final outcome was the permanent separation, in the last half of the eleventh century, of the Church of the East from that of the West. The former became known as the Greek, Byzantine, or Eastern Church; the latter, as the Latin, Roman, or Catholic Church.

The East was thus eventually lost to the Roman see, but the loss was more than made good by fresh accessions of power in the West. In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes. We shall a little later tell briefly the story of this alliance (Chapter XLI). Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the Frankish chieftains as kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish kings defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.[7]

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[6] Iconoclast means "image breaker."

[7] The cause of the Roman pontiffs, from about the eighth or ninth century forward, was greatly furthered by two remarkable forged documents, known as the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The probable object of the former was to justify the donation of Pippin (sec. 525) by providing evidence of a similar and earlier donation by the first imperial patron of the Church. It "tells how

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

Selections from the Sources. — BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*. Read bk. i, chaps. xxiii–xxv; bk. ii, chaps. i and xiii; bk. iii, chaps. iii and xxv. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 7, "Life of St. Columban." HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 274–314, "The Rule of Saint Benedict." See also ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. v.

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Constantine the Great, cured of his leprosy by the prayers of Sylvester, resolved . . . to forsake the ancient seat for a new capital on the Bosporus, lest the continuance of the secular government should cramp the freedom of the spiritual, and how he bestowed therewith upon the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy and the countries of the West." — BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 100.

The so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which appeared about the middle of the ninth century, tended to a similar end as did the Donation of Constantine, although they were originally put out in the interest of the bishops and not of the Pope. They formed part of a collection of Church documents, and included many alleged letters and edicts of the early popes. Granting their genuineness, they went to prove that the bishops of Rome in the second and third centuries exercised all that authority and extensive jurisdiction which were now being claimed by the popes of the ninth century.

In that uncritical age the documents were received by everybody as authentic. The papal party effectively quoted them in support of their largest claims for the Roman see. They are now acknowledged by all scholars, Catholic as well as Protestant, to have been forged. Laurentius Valla (1406–1457), one of the greatest of the Italian humanists, was the first to demonstrate the real character of the Donation of Constantine.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

496. Introductory. — The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and contributed greatly to hasten in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

497. The Romance Nations. — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

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It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts, kneeling together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of

the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.

498. **The Formation of the Romance Languages.** — During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now, in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue and were speaking that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place has been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

499. **The Personal Character of the Teutonic Laws.** — The laws of the barbarians were generally personal instead of territorial, as with us; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the tribal rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and the Danube.

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil doer depended not upon the nature of his crime but upon his rank or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs were beaten and put to death for minor offenses, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim.

500. **Ordeals.** — The agencies relied upon by the Germans to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.[1]

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot plowshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, his innocence was held to be established. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flames of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands; hence the phrase "to haul over the coals."

The *ordeal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. When we speak of one's being "in hot water," we use an expression which had its origin in this ordeal.

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In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond: if he floated, he was held guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty, but receive the innocent into its bosom. The practice common in Europe until a very recent date of trying supposed witches by

[1] The wager of battle is by some writers treated as a distinct form of trial; but being an appeal to the decision of Heaven, it rested on the same principle as the trials by fire and water, and consequently is properly given a place among the ordeals

throwing them into a pond of water to see whether they would sink or float, grew out of this superstition.

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even the judge in some cases resorted to it to maintain the authority and dignity of his court. To a person who had disregarded a summons the judge would send a challenge in this form: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not think it worth thy while to come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt."

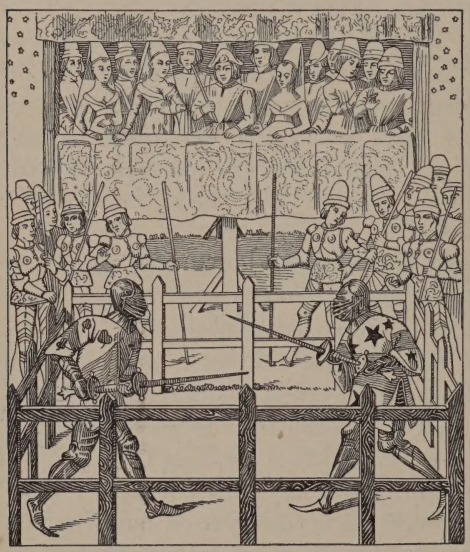

FIG. 104. — TRIAL BY COMBAT. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century; after *Lacroix*)

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

The champions, as the deputies were called, became in time a regular class in society, like the gladiators in ancient Rome. Religious houses and chartered towns hired champions at a regular salary to defend all the cases to which they might become a party.

501. The Revival of the Roman Law. — Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place more persistently, likewise finally give way, almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the Empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The formation of the Romance languages. 2. Weregild. 3. Ordeals. 4. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

502. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527–565). — During the fifty years immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the Imperial City of the West. Had the New Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian."

503. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and "The Lawgiver of Civilization"; Calamities of his Reign. — One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the "Imperial Restoration," by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sec. 472), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of Exarch. Besides recovering Africa and Italy from the barbarians, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his generals was

the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world.[1] In causing its publication Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization.

Although the reign of Justinian was in many respects auspicious and brilliant, still it was for the Empire a time of almost unparalleled woes and suffering. Among the calamitous events of the period a prominent place must be given the seditions of Constantinople and the attendant destruction of property and loss of life.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

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The parties or factions indulging in these disorders rose out of the chariot races of the circus. These games possessed a strange and fatal fascination for the populace of the capital, such as the gladiatorial spectacles had had for the debased multitudes of Old Rome. The people became divided into two leading factions, known as the Blues and the Greens. These factions carried their rivalries into all the relations of life, political and religious. Often they indulged in unseemly disturbances in the circus, even in the presence of the Emperor himself. In the year 532 there broke out what is known as the "Nika" riot, during which a large part of the city was reduced to ashes. The mob was finally enticed

[1] See sec. 459.

within the Hippodrome, where it was set upon by the soldiers of Belisarius and thirty-five thousand of the rioters were slain.

In the year 542 an awful pestilence, bred probably in Egypt, fell upon the Empire and did not wholly cease its ravages until about fifty years later. This plague was the most terrible scourge of which history has any knowledge, save perhaps the so-called Black Death, which afflicted Europe in the fourteenth century. It is believed to have carried off one third of the population of the Empire.

504. **The Reign of Heraclius** (A.D. 610–641). — For half a century after the death of Justinian the annals of the Eastern Roman Empire are unimportant. Then we reach the reign of Heraclius, a prince about whose worthy name gather matters of significance in world history.

About this time Chosroes II, king of Persia, wrested from the hands of the Eastern emperors the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier and overran all Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. For many years Heraclius battled heroically for the integrity of the Empire. The struggle between the two rivals was at last decided by a terrible combat known as the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). The Persian army was almost annihilated. Grief or violence ended the life of Chosroes. With his successor, Heraclius negotiated a treaty which restored the earlier boundaries of the Roman dominions.

A few years after this the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. Heraclius himself lived to see — so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune — the very provinces which he had recovered from the fire worshipers in the possession of the followers of the Arabian Prophet.

The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the Empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed

upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

505. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East.[2] — The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructor of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.

Third, it kept alive the imperial idea and principle, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sec. 527).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of Eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world to-day largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

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[2] Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER XL

THE RISE OF ISLAM

506. The Attack from the South upon Ancient Civilization. — We have seen the German barbarians of the North descend upon and wrest from the Roman Empire all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the Empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.[1]

507. The Arabs. — The Arabs, or Saracens, who are now about to play their surprising part in history, are, after the Hebrews and the Phœnicians, the most important people of the Semitic race. They are divided into two distinct classes, — dwellers in towns and dwellers in tents. It is to the latter class alone that the term *Bedouins* is properly applied.

Secure in their inaccessible deserts, the Arabs have never as a nation bowed their necks to a foreign conqueror, although portions of the Arabian peninsula have been repeatedly subjugated by different invaders.

508. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. — Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and most revered shrine of the Kaaba,[2] where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this Meccan shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. From them the Arab teachers had been

[1] The student should make a careful study of the maps after pp. 336 and 361.

[2] So named from its having the shape of a cube.

made acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the numerous Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the doctrines of Christianity. It was from the Jews and Christians, doubtless, that Mohammed learned many of the doctrines that he taught.

509. **Mohammed.**—Mohammed, the great Prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year A.D. 570. He sprang from the distinguished tribe of the Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba. In his early years he

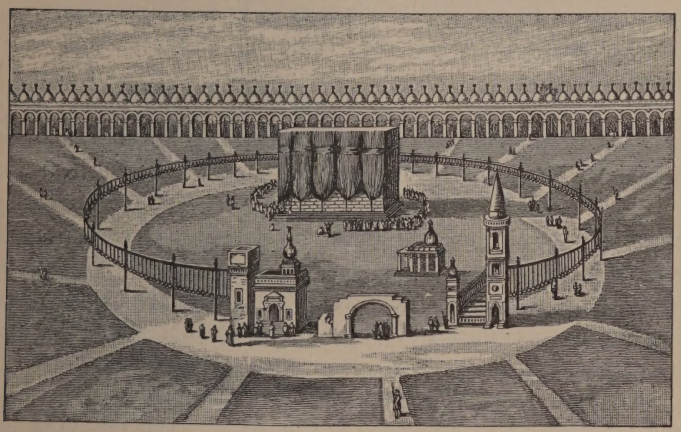

FIG. 105.—THE KAABA AT MECCA

was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The starting point of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.

For a long time Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he

everywhere met that at the end of three years of apostolic labors his disciples numbered only forty persons.

510. The Hegira (A.D. 622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreish, and they began to persecute him and his followers. To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or Flight, as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

511. Mohammed at Medina; Beginning of the Holy Wars of Islam. — At this time Medina was merely a cluster of clan villages on an oasis of the desert. Bitter feuds divided the clans, and the community was in a state of genuine Arab anarchy. Mohammed at once assumed the functions of an arbiter and lawgiver. He framed for the community a remarkable charter or constitution, which united the warring clans into a little commonwealth, — the nucleus of the great Arabian Empire. His government was a theocracy, like that of ancient Israel. Mohammed was not now, as while at Mecca, simply a prophet, but a legislator, judge, and king.

As chief or king, Mohammed, like his prototype David, planned and led border raids and military campaigns. The year after the Hegira he sent out an expedition to intercept a caravan of the Koreish and to make it a prize. This was in strict accord with Arab rule and custom, for the Koreish in expelling Mohammed from Mecca and in attempting to kill him had established a state of war between him and themselves. This marauding soon led to a pitched battle (the so-called battle of Bedr, A.D. 624) between the Meccans and the followers of Mohammed, which resulted in a signal victory for the Moslems. This was the beginning of the holy wars of Islam.[3]

[3] Mohammed about this time gave his followers the following revelation, which had great influence in securing for early Islam its remarkable military successes: "And those who are slain in God's cause, their works shall not go wrong; He . . . will make them enter into Paradise which He has told them of."— THE KORAN, sura xlvii, 5 (Palmer's trans.).

512. Capture of Mecca; Arabia acknowledges Mohammed as a True Prophet. — In the tenth year of the Hegira, the Meccans having violated a truce which they had entered into with the new state at Medina, Mohammed at the head of an army of ten thousand Bedouins marched against Mecca and captured the city almost without a blow. The Arabian tribes now almost unanimously turned to Mohammed as a true prophet, and he who had been once rejected now became the spiritual and military head of the innumerable Arab clans, whom the intense ardor of religious enthusiasm had welded into a mighty brotherhood and nation.

The same year that marks the capture of Mecca by Mohammed marks also his death. He was buried at Medina, and his tomb there is to-day a most sacred place of pilgrimage for the Moslem world.

513. The Origin of the Koran. — Before going on to trace the conquests of the successors of Mohammed, we must try to form some idea of the religion of the great Prophet.

The doctrines of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time the apostle recited [4] to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon bones, pieces of pottery, and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the Prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Thus came into existence the sacred book of Islam.

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514. The Teachings of the Koran. — The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the unity of God: "There is no God save Allah" echoes through the Koran. To this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah."

The Koran inculcates four cardinal virtues. The first of these is prayer: five times every day must the believer turn his face

[4] Palmer in the introduction to his translation of the Koran says that it is "probable Mohammed could neither read nor write."

towards Mecca and pray. The second is almsgiving. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

To the faithful the Koran promises a heaven filled with every sensual delight, with flowers and fruits and bright-eyed maidens (houris) of ravishing beauty, and threatens unbelievers and the doers of evil with the torments of a hell filled with every horror of flame and demon.[5]

515. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. — For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the Prophet[6] were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the Zend-Avesta. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals, were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Persia Zoroastrianism, a religion with a great past, was, as a force in history, destroyed.[7] By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the

[5] Islam is not based upon the Koran alone. It rests in part upon what is known as the *Sunna*, that is, a great body of traditions of the Prophet's sayings, — those not forming a part of the sacred book, — his actions, practices, and decisions handed down from his immediate companions.

[6] Abu-Bekr (A.D. 632–634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634–644), Othman (A.D. 644–655), and Ali (A.D. 655–661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins, for from the very first dissensions were rife among the followers of the Prophet.

[7] The number of Guebers, or fire worshipers, in Persia at the present time is about 100,000, found for the most part at Yezd and in the province of Kerman. A larger number may be counted in Western India, — the descendants of the Guebers who fled from Persia at the time of the Arabian invasion. They are there called Parsees, from the land whence they came.

THE SARACEN EMPIRE
about A. D. 750
0 500 1000
Scale of Miles
FRANCIA
Tours
AQUITANIA
Arles
Ravenna
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
Corsica
Rome
Naples
Sardinia
Palermo
Otranto
Constantinople
MACEDONIA
BITHYNIA
Nicæa
Angora
PHRYGIA
Trapezus
ARAB
Araxes R.
CASPIAN SEA
Jaxartes R.
Ozus R.
Samarcand
KHORASMIA
Balkh
KHORASAN
R. Indus
HINDUSTAN
Balearic Is.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sicily
Syracuse
Malta
Carthage
Kairouan
Tripoli
Crete
Athens
Thebarmes
Iconium
Rhodes
Antioch
Aleppo
Nineveh
PERSIA
Cyprus
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Ctesiphon
Bagdad
Isfahan
Yezd
Jerusalem
Pelusium
Alexandria
Gaza
BABYLONIA
Bussorah
Shiraz
FARS
KERMAN
SIND
Persian Gulf
Nile R.
EGYPT
Hejaz
Medina
Mecca
RED SEA
Oman
Muscat
Hamyarites
ABYSSINIA
AFRICA
Toledo
Cordova
Guadalquivir R.
Granada
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Lisbon
MOROCCO
Strait of Gibraltar
ANDALOS
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Araxes R.
Sea of Marmora
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Crete
Sea of Cyprus
Sea of Sicily
Sea of Tripoli
Sea of Gibraltar
Sea of Marmora
Sea of Azof

stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

516. Attacks upon Constantinople. — Thus in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar on the other. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempts were made in the East, where the Arabs repeatedly endeavored, but without success, to wrest Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. The check that the Saracens received before Constantinople was doubtless next in importance for European civilization to the check given their conquering hordes a little later in France at the great battle of Tours.

517. The Conquest of Spain (A.D. 711). — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were opened to them — legend says by treachery — at the western, and they gained a foothold in Spain. At the great battle of Xeres (A.D. 711) the last of the Visigothic kings was hopelessly defeated, and all the peninsula save some mountainous regions in the northwest quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the subjugation of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

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518. Invasion of France; Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). — Four or five years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves upon the plains of Gaul. This advance of the Moslem host beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. It looked as though the followers of Mohammed would soon possess all the continent. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a

vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosporus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year 732, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the center of Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of Western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

519. **Golden Age of the Caliphate at Bagdad.** — For about thirty years after the death of Mohammed, Medina continued to be the capital of the Arabian Empire; then Damascus was the seat of the government for nearly a century,[8] after which, a new dynasty arising, a new capital, Bagdad, was founded on the Lower Tigris, in ancient Babylonia.

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covered the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Al-Mansur (A.D. 754–775) and the renowned Harun-al-Rashid (A.D. 786–809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

520. **The Dismemberment of the Caliphate.** — "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs

[8] The caliphs who ruled from Damascus are known as the Ommeiades. In securing their power they had caused the murder of the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hosain. These youths were ever regarded as martyrs by the friends of the house of Ali, and the schism caused by their cruel death has never been healed. The Mohammedans of Persia, who are known as Shiahs, are the leaders of the party of Ali, while the Turks and Arabs, known as Sunnites, are the chief adherents of the opposite party.

were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time their extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals — from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir — were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

521. The Civilization of Arabian Islam. — The Saracens were coheirs of antiquity with the Germans. They made especially their own the scientific[9] accumulations of the ancient civilizations and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. These elements of civilization they added to and enriched, and in several of the countries of which they took possession, especially in Babylonia and in Spain, there developed a civilization which in some respects far surpassed any that the world had yet seen.

The Moslem law system, the basis of which is found in the Koran, is one of the most influential and widely obeyed systems of laws and regulations that any race or civilization has developed. Since the system embraces religious as well as civil matters, it is in some respects like the Mosaic code, from which it freely borrowed.

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In the lighter forms of literature — romance and poetry — the Arabs produced much that possesses a high degree of excellence. The inimitable tales of the *Arabian Nights*, besides being a valuable commentary on Arabian life and manners at the time of the culmination of Oriental culture at the court of Bagdad, forms also an addition to the imperishable portion of the literature of the world.

The physical sciences were also pursued by the Arabian scholars with great eagerness and with considerable success. From the

[9] Gibbon affirms that no Greek poet, orator, or historian was ever translated into Arabic. See *Decline and Fall*, chap. lii.

Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, algebra, medicine, botany, and other sciences. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were improved and enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.[10] They made medicine for the first time a true science. They devised and gave to Europe what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation.[11]

All this literary and scientific activity naturally found expression in the establishment of schools, universities, and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian Empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement. The famous university at Cairo, which has at the present day an attendance of several thousand students, is a survival from the great days of Arabian Islam.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture, — some of the most beautiful specimens of which are preserved to us at Cordova and Granada, in Spain, — a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

522. **The Evil and the Good in Islam.** — In some of its teachings and institutions Islam is a system unfavorable to social progress. In opposition to Christianity, it tolerates polygamy [12] and places no restraint upon divorce, thus destroying the sacredness of family life. In authorizing the faithful to make slaves of their captives in holy wars, it legalizes slavery; Mohammedan countries are the

[10] What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is shown by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

[11] The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system they seem to have borrowed from India.

[12] The Koran (sura iv, 3) allows the believer to take "two, or three, or four wives, and not more." By a special dispensation (sura xxxiii, 49) Mohammed was allowed to take a larger number. At one time the Prophet had ten wives.

main strongholds of slavery at the present time. It also fosters religious intolerance; the Moslem is forbidden by his religion to grant equality to unbelievers.

Islam, however, inculcates many inspiring truths and recommends some great virtues. Like Christianity, it teaches the unity of God, immortality, and rewards and punishments after death. These doctrines render it immeasurably superior to fetichism or to polytheism, and have made it a great force for the uplift of multitudes of idolatrous tribes in Asia and Africa.

Among the leading virtues inculcated by Islam is that of temperance. The Koran forbids positively to the believer the use of wine and inferentially of all strong drinks. To this prohibition is attributable the fact that drunkenness is less common and open in Mohammedan than in Christian lands.

Finally, in forming our estimate of Islam we should carefully bear in mind that the religion as held and practiced by many Mohammedan peoples to-day is a very degenerate form of the Islamic faith when compared with that held and practiced by the Arabs among whom it first arose.

Selections from the Sources. — The Koran is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer, in *Sacred Books of the East*, is the best. *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (trans. by Stanley Lane-Poole).

Secondary Works. — MUIR, W., *The Corân*, *The Life of Mohammed*, and *The Rise and Decline of Islam*. SMITH, R. B., *Mohammed and Mohammedanism;* has a short bibliography. IRVING, W., *Mahomet and his Successors*. GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall*, chaps. l–lii. CARLYLE, T., *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Lect. ii, "The Hero as Prophet." FREEMAN, E. A., *History and Conquests of the Saracens;* a rapid sketch by a master. GILMAN, A., *The Saracens from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Bagdad*. SYED AMEER ALI, *The Spirit of Islam: or the Life and Teachings of Mohammed;* by a Mohammedan barrister at law. Also the same author's *Short History of the Saracens*. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 224–239.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The conquest of Egypt. 2. The caliph Harun-al-Rashid. 3. The *Arabian Nights*. 4. The Moors in Spain.

CHAPTER XLI

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

523. Introductory. — We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the Saracens on the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times, — indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important character of the period. We shall tell how the mayors of the palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; and how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits, in the fusion of things Roman and things Germanic, laid the basis of modern civilization.

524. How Duke Pippin became King of the Franks (A.D. 751). — Charles Martel, who saved the Christian civilization of Western Europe on the field of Tours, although the real head of the Frankish nation, was nominally only an officer of the Merovingian court (sec. 473). He died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles' son, Pippin III, aspired to the regal title and honors. He resolved to depose his titular master and to make himself king. Not deeming it wise, however, to do this without the sanction of the Pope, he sent an embassy to represent to him

the state of affairs and to solicit his advice. Mindful of recent favors that he had received at the hands of Pippin, the Pope gave his approval to the proposed change by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in reality should be king also in name. This was sufficient. Childeric — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed, and Pippin, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was crowned king of the Franks, and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charles (Charlemagne) giving name to the house.

525. Pippin helps to establish the Temporal Power of the Popes (A.D. 756). — In the year A.D. 754 Pope Stephen II, troubled by the king of the Lombards, besought Pippin's aid against the barbarian. Pippin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway interposed in behalf of the Pope. He descended into Italy with an army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the Pope of the regained lands[1] (A.D. 756). As a symbol of the gift he laid the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, and of many other cities on the tomb of St. Peter.

This endowment may be regarded as having practically laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the popes; for although Pope Stephen, as it seems, had already resolved to cast off allegiance to the Eastern Emperor and set up an independent Church state, still it is not probable that he could have carried out such an enterprise successfully had he not been aided in his project by the Frankish king.

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526. Accession of Charlemagne; his Wars. — Pippin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two sons, Carloman and Charles, the latter being better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne, or "Charles the Great." Three years after the accession of the brothers Carloman died, and Charles took possession of his dominions.

[1] The sovereignty of all these lands belonged nominally to the Emperor at Constantinople. His claims were ignored by Pippin.

During his long reign of nearly half a century Charlemagne so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of Western Europe. He made over fifty military campaigns, among which were those against the Lombards, the Saracens, the Saxons, and the Avars.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the Pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown" of the Lombards (sec. 479).

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his dominions, under the title of the Spanish March.[2]

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and forced to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

To the east and the southeast, behind the German tribes that Charlemagne had reduced to obedience, were the Avars, a race terrible as the Huns of Attila, and an offshoot seemingly of the same stock. In a series of campaigns Charlemagne broke their power and reduced the race to a tributary condition. This subjugation of the Avars was one of the greatest services that he rendered the young Christian civilization of Europe. For three centuries they had been the scourge of all their neighbors.

527. **Restoration of the Empire in the West** (A.D. 800). — An event of seemingly little moment, yet in its influence upon

[2] As Charles was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, while hemmed in by the walls of the Pass of Roncesvalles, was set upon by the wild mountaineers (the Gascons) and cut to pieces before he could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved; but long afterwards, associated with the fabulous deeds of the hero Roland, it formed a favorite theme of the tales and songs of the Trouveurs of Northern France.

succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer (sec. 445).

We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the

Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.[3]

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to shape large sections of mediæval history.

Charlemagne reigned as emperor only fourteen years. He died A.D. 814, and his empire soon afterwards fell in pieces.[4] It was renewed, however, by Otto the Great of Germany in the year 962 and came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire.

528. **The Revival of the Empire as a Dividing Line in History.** — As Pope Leo placed the imperial diadem upon the head of Charles in St. Peter's basilica he cried, "To Charles the Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor, life and victory." The Roman populace within the church repeated the cry, which was taken up by the Frankish warriors outside. "In that shout was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the South with the fresh energy of the North, and from that moment modern history begins." [5]

[3] From this time on it will be proper for us to use the terms *Western* Empire and *Eastern* Empire. These names should not, however, be employed before this time, for the two parts of the old Roman Empire were simply administrative divisions of a single empire; but we may properly enough speak of the Roman Empire *in* the West, and the Roman Empire *in* the East, or of the Western and Eastern emperors. What it is very essential to note is, that the restoration of the line of the Western emperors actually destroyed the unity of the old Empire, so that from this time on until the destruction of the Eastern Empire in 1453, there were, as we have said in the text, two rival emperors, each in theory having rightful suzerainty of the whole world, whereas the two emperors in Roman times were the co-rulers of a single and indivisible world empire. See Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire*.

[4] It was divided by the famous Treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843, among his three grandsons, Lewis, Charles, and Lothair, as shown by the accompanying map.

[5] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 49. Bryce here uses the phrase "modern history" as comprehending both the mediæval and the modern period. For the moment he conceives history as presenting only two phases, the ancient and the modern.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. — In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *grāy;* ā̈, like *ā*, only less prolonged; ă, like *a* in *hăve;* ä, like *a* in *fär;* ạ, like *a* in *all;* ē, like *ee* in *meet;* ē̆, like *ē*, only less prolonged; ĕ, like *e* in *ĕnd;* ê, like *e* in *thêre;* ē, like *e* in *ērr;* ī, like *i* in *pīne;* ĭ, like *i* in *pĭn;* ō, like *o* in *nōte;* ŏ, like *o* in *nŏt;* ô, like *o* in *ôrb;* o͞o, like *oo* in *mo͞on;* ū, like *u* in *ūse;* ü, like the French *u;* ȼ and ch, like *k;* ç, like *s;* g̃, like *g* in *g̃et;* ġ, like *j;* s̱, like *z;* ċh, as in German *ach;* G, small capital, as in German *Hamburg;* ñ, like *ni* in *minion;* ṅ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song.*

Abraham, Hebrew patriarch, 49.
Abu Bekr (ä′bo͞o bek′r), first caliph, 362 n. 6.
A-chæ′a, Roman province, 161.
A-chæ′an League, 160 n. 8; hostages in Italy, 242; war with Rome, 243.
A-chæ′ans in the Heroic Age, 75.
A-chil′lēs̱, 80.
Acropolis, the, at Athens, 105.
Ac′ti-um, battle of, 272.
A-dri-an-ō′ple, battle near (A.D. 378), 306.
Ædiles (ē′dīls), plebeian, duties, 212.
Æ-ga′tian Islands, naval battle near, 232.
Æ-gē′an Sea, islands in, 74.
Æ-gos-pot′a-mī, capture of Athenian fleet at, 143.
Æ-ō′li-ans, the, 76.
Æ′o-lus, 86 n. 1.
Æ′qui-ans, 212.
Æs′chi-nēs̱, 178.
Æs′chy-lus, tragic poet, 174.
A-ē′ti-us, Roman general, 313.
Æ-tō′li-an League, 160 n. 8.
Africa, North, recovery of, by Justinian, 333; conquest of, by the Arabs, 362.
Agade (a-gä′de), 32.
Ag-a-mem′non, 80.
Ạg-rip-pī′na, 283.
Ah′ri-man, 63.
Ä-hu′rä Mäz′dä. See *Ormazd.*
Alaric, first invasion of Italy, 307; wrings ransom from Rome, 309; sacks the city, 310; death, 311.
Al-çi-bī′a-dēs̱, 140, 141, 143.
Alexander the Great, 151–156.
Alexandria, in Egypt, 153.
Alexandrian Age, literature of, 178.
Alexandrian Library, 159.
Ali (ä′lee), caliph, 362 n. 6.
Al′li-a, battle of the, 218.
Almansur (äl-măn-so͞or′), caliph, 364.
Alphabet, the Semitic, origin of, 8; disseminated by the Phœnicians, 58.
Al-phē′us, river, 74.
Ạ-mā′sis, k. of Egypt, 104.
Ä-men-hō′tep IV, 18 n. 3.
Ammon, oasis of, 60.
Am-phic′ty-o-ny, the, 89. See *Sacred Wars.*
Amphitheaters, shows of, 327–329.
Am′y-tis, 47 n. 1.
A-nā′crē-on or A-năc′rē-on, 173.
An-ax-ag′o-ras, 181.
A-nax-i-man′der, 180 n. 2.
An-ax-im′e-nēs̱, 180 n. 2.
Ancestor worship, among the Chinese, 70; among the Romans, 199.
An′cus Mar′ti-us, k. of Rome, 206.
Andalusia (an-dä-lu′she-a), origin of the name, 312.

An-dro-nī'cus, Livius, poet, 321.
Anglo-Saxons, conquest of Britain, 335.
Angro Mainyus (än'grō mīn'yōōs). See *Ahriman*.
Anshan (än'shän), in Elam, 59.
An-tig'o-nē, 175 n. 1.
An-tī'o-chus III, the Great, k. of Syria, 158, 242.
An'ti-um, 222.
An-to-nī'nus Pi'us, Roman emp., 289.
Antony, Mark, the triumvir, 270–273.
A-pel'lēş, Greek painter, 171.
Ap'en-nīneş, 196.
Aph'ro-dī'tē, goddess, 86.
Apis, sacred Egyptian bull, 23.
A-poc'ry-pha, 52.
A-pol'lō, his oracle at Delphi, 87.
Appian Way. See *Via Appia*.
Appius Claudius. See *Claudius*.
Apulia, 195.
A'quæ Sex'ti-æ, battle of, 252 n. 3.
Aqueducts, Roman, 319.
Arabian Nights, 365.
Arabic system of notation, 366.
Arabs, 358. See *Mohammedanism*.
Ar-bē'la, battle of, 153.
Ar-cā'di-a, geography of, 7.
Ar-cā'di-ans, 7.
Är-cā'di-us, Roman emp. of the East, 307.
Är-chi-mē'dēş, the mathematician, 187.
Architecture, Egyptian, 27; Babylonian, 34; Persian, 63; Greek, 162–165; Roman, 317–320.
Archons at Athens, 106.
Ā-rē-op'a-gus, council of the, 106; stripped of its authority, 127 n. 3.
Ā'rēş, 86.
Är'go-lis, description of, 72.
Är'go-nauts, the, 79.
Är'gos, 72.
Ar-is-tär'chus, the astronomer, 187.
Ar-is-tī'dēş, 117, 125.
A-ris'tī-on, stele of, 166.
A-ris-to-ġi'ton, Athenian tyrannicide, 109.
Ar-is-toph'a-nēş, comic poet, 176.
Ar'is-tot-le, life and works, 184.
Ar'i-us, 302 n. 5.
Ar-min'i-us, 277.
Ar-ta-pher'nēş, Persian general, 115.
Artaxerxes (är-tax-erx'ēş) II, 145.
Är'te-mis, goddess, 86.
Är-te-mis'i-um, naval battle of, 121 n. 3.
Arthur, King, 335.
Ar'y-ans, use of the term, 11 n. 5.
As-shur-bän'i-päl, 43.
Assyrian Empire, rise of, 33; political history, 42, 43; civilization, 43–48.
Astrology among the Babylonians, 38.
Astronomy among the Egyptians, 28; among the Babylonians, 40.
Ath-a-nā'si-us, 302 n. 5.
A-thē'na, goddess, 86.
Athenian Empire, 124–134.
Athens, history of, up to the Persian Wars, 105–111; her fall (404 B.C.), 143.
A'thos or Ath'os, Mount, 115, 118.
Attica, ethnic elements of its population, 105; consolidation of the villages of, 106; the four so-called "Attic tribes," 110 n. 6; ten new Attic tribes formed by Clisthenes, 110 n. 6.
At'ti-cus Herodes, 293.
At'ti-la, 312, 313.
Au'fi-dus, river, 196.
Augurs, College of, 204.
Au'gus-tīne, his mission to Britain, 338.
Augustus Cæsar. See *Octavius*.
Au-re'li-us, Marcus, Roman emp., reign, 290; his *Meditations*, 290.
Aus'pi-ces, taking of the, 231.

Babylon, rise of, 33; fall of, 48.
Babylonian Empire, political history, 30–33; civilization, 34–41.
Babylonian Genesis, the, 39.
Bactria, conquest of, by Alexander, 154.
Bagdad founded, 364.
Barca. See *Hamilcar*.
Barrack emperors, the, 293.
Baths. See *Thermæ*.
Bede (bēd), the Venerable, 339 n. 1.
Bedouins (bĕd'ōō-ēnz), the, 358.
Bed'r, battle of, 360.
Be-his-tun' Rock, 61.
Bel-ĭ-sā'rĭ-us, general, 354.
Beluchistan (bĕl-ōō-chĭs-tän'), 154.
Benedictines, order of the, 342, 343.
Ben-e-ven'tum, battle of, 224.

Bes'ti-a, Lu'ci-us Cal-pur'ni-us, consul, 251.
Bœ-ō'ti-a, 71.
Book of the Dead, 22.
Bos'po-rus, the, 99.
Bot'tä, M., 44.
Bräh'mä, 66.
Brahmans, 65.
Bren'nus, Gallic leader, 219.
Britain, Anglo-Saxon conquest of, 283.
Bronze, Age of, 4.
Brut'ti-um, 195.
Brutus, Marcus, 269, 271.
Buddha (bōōd'ha), 66.
Buddhism, 66, 69.
Burgundians, kingdom of the, 312, 333.
Bur'rhus, 283.
Bu-sen-ti'nus, river, 311.
By-zan'ti-um, founding of, 99. See *Constantinople*.

Cad'mus, 78.
Cæsar, Augustus. See *Octavius*.
Cæsar, Gaius. See *Caligula*.
Cæsar, Gaius Julius, 257, 263–270.
Cæsarion (sē-zā're-on), 272.
Ca-lā'bri-a, 195.
Cā'lah, 44.
Calendar, Egyptian, 28; Babylonian, 41; Julian, 268; Gregorian, 268 n. 12.
Ca-lig'u-la, Roman emp., 282.
Caliphate of Bagdad, 364.
Cal-lic'ra-tēş, architect, 133.
Cam-bu'ni-an Mountains, 72.
Cam-bȳ'sēş, 60.
Ca-mil'lus. See *Furius*.
Campagna (käm-pän'yä), 320.
Campania, 195.
Cam'pus Mär'ti-us, 209.
Can'næ, battle of, 237.
Can-u-le'i-us, Gaius, tribune, 216.
Cap'i-to-līne hill, 207.
Ca'pre-æ, island, 281.
Cap'u-a revolts from Rome, 238, 239.
Căr-a-cal'la, Roman emp., 294.
Căr'che-mish, 18.
Carloman, k. of Franks, 369.
Căr-mā'ni-a, 155.
Car-o-lin'gi-an family, beginning of, 369.
Carthage, 227. See *Punic Wars*.
Cas'si-us, Gaius, conspirator, 269, 271.
Caste, Hindu system of, 65.
Catacombs, 299.
Cathay (kath-ā'). See *China*.
Cat-i-lī'na, Lu'ci-us Ser'gi-us, 262.
Catiline. See *Catilina*.
Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Censor, 244.
Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Younger, 267.
Ca-tul'lus, poet, 321.
Cat'u-lus, C. Lutatius, consul, 232.
Cau'dĭne Forks, 223.
Cayster (kā-is'ter), river, 59.
Çe-crō'pi-a, nucleus of Athens, 78.
Çe'crops, 78.
Çelt-i-be'ri-ans, 247.
Celts, Christianity among, 339.
Censors, Roman officials, 217.
Chær-o-nē'a, battle of, 150.
Chal-çid'i-çē, the name, 99.
Chal'çis, colonies of, 99.
Chaldæan Empire, 47.
Châlons (shä'lon''), battle of, 312.
Champollion (sham-pol'i-on), 22.
Chā'rēş, Greek sculptor, 169.
Charlemagne (shär'le-mān), k. of Franks, 368–372.
Charles Martel, 364, 368.
Chē'ops, 15, 16.
Chil'de-ric, Merovingian king, 369.
China, early history, 67–70.
Chinese, writing, 67; literature, 69; competitive examinations, 69.
Chī'ōs, island, 74.
Chos'ro-eş II, k. of Persia, 356.
Christ, birth, 279; crucifixion, 282.
Christianity, first preached, 282; gains adherents from the higher classes, 286; under Trajan, 288; martial spirit enters the Church, 300; made in effect state religion by Constantine, 301; effects upon, of imperial patronage, 302; one of the most vital elements in the Empire, 305; heresy and idolatry suppressed by Theodosius and Gratian, 306; influence in suppressing the gladiatorial combats, 308; introduced among the Teutonic tribes, 337–340; introduced into Russia, 341 n. 2. See *Christians*.

Christians, persecution of, under Nero, 284; under Domitian, 286; under Marcus Aurelius, 290; motives of these persecutions, 290; persecutions under Diocletian, 299; status under Julian, 303.
Church, early constitution of, 344; separation of the Eastern from the Western or Latin Church, 347. See *Papacy*.
Church Council of Nicæa, 302.
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, his prosecution of Verres, 260; First Oration against Catiline, 262; proscribed, 270; as an orator, 322.
Cim'brī, the, 252.
Cimon, son of Miltiades, 127.
Cin-cin-nā'tus, legend of, 213.
Cinna. See *Cornelius*.
Circus, games of the, 205.
Cir'cus Max'i-mus, 317.
Cirr'ha, 90.
Citizenship, Roman, privileges of, 202; demanded by the Italians, 253; secured by them as result of the Social War, 254; Cæsar's liberality in conferring upon provincials, 267; conferred by Caracalla upon all free inhabitants of the Empire, 295.
City-state, the Greek, 84; Rome as a, 201.
Clan. See *Gens*.
Claudius, Appius, decemvir, 215.
Claudius, Publius, consul, 231.
Claudius, Roman emp., 282.
Clē'on, 138.
Cleopatra, 272, 273.
Cle'ru-chies, 98 n. 2.
Clients, dependents of the Roman family, 200.
Clis'the-nēş, constitution of, 110.
Clo-ā'ca Max'i-ma, 207.
Clo'vis, k. of the Franks, 334.
Cnossus (nos'us), Cretan city, 79 n. 2.
Co'drus, k. of Athens, 106.
Colonies, Greek, 98–102; Latin, 226; Roman, 225.
Co-los-se'um, 319.
Colossus of Rhodes, 169.
Co-mi'ti-a centuriata, 208.
Comitia curiata, 201.
Co-mi'ti-um, 207.
Commercium. See *Jus commercii*.
Com'mo-dus, Roman emp., 293.
Con-cil'i-um tributum plebis, 216 n. 2.
Confucius, Chinese sage, 68, 69.
Connubium. See *Jus connubii*.
Con'stan-tīne, Roman emp., 299.
Constantine the Great, reign, 300–303.
Constantine VI, Eastern emp., 371.
Constantinople, founded, 303; besieged by Saracens, 363.
Consuls, Roman, first, 210.
Corcyra, island, 74.
Cor'dō-vä, 363.
Cor-fin'i-um, 253.
Corinth, Greek council at, in 481 B.C., 118; destroyed by Romans, 161, 242.
Corinth, isthmus of, 71.
Corinthia, description of, 72.
Corn, free distribution of, at Rome, 330.
Cor-ne'li-a, mother of the Gracchi, 251.
Cornelius Cinna, Lucius, consul, 257.
Co-rœ'bus, victor at Olympia, 88.
Cor'pus Ju'ris Ci-vi'lis, 324.
Corsica, 233.
Crassus, Marcus Licinius, 263, 265.
Crete in Greek legend, 74.
Cris'sa, 90.
Crœ'sus, k. of Lydia, 60.
Cū'mæ, oracle at, 100.
Cū-nax'a, battle of, 145.
Cuneiform writing, 36; its decipherment, 37.
Curia in early Rome, 201.
Çȳ-ax'a-rēş, k. of the Medes, 59.
Çyc'la-dēş, the, 74.
Cyclopes (sī-klō'pēz), the, 86 n. 1.
Çy'lon, rebellion of, 107 n. 2.
Çyn'ics, the, 185 n. 7.
Çyn-os-ceph'a-læ, battle of, 241.
Çyr-e-na'i-ca, 102.
Çy-re'ne, 102.
Çyrus the Great, 59.
Çyrus the Younger, 145.

Dacia, 288.
Darius, I, 61; conquests in Europe, 113; expeditions against Greece, 115; III, 152, 153.
Dā'tis, Persian general, 115.
David, k. of Hebrews, 50.

Deç-e-le'a, 142.
Decelean War, 142–144.
De-cem'virs, 214.
De-la'tors, 281.
De'los, Confederacy of, 125, 126.
De'los, island, 74.
Delphian oracle, the, 86; its services in Greek colonization, 99 n. 3; message to the Athenians at time of Persian Wars, 121; oracle given Spartans at beginning of Peloponnesian War, 135.
Deme (dēm), the Attic, 110 n. 6.
De-mē'ter, cult of, 86.
De-moc'ri-tus, 181 n. 3.
Demosthenes, his *Philippics*, 150; his oration on the crown, 178.
Des-i-de'ri-us, k. of Lombards, 370.
Di-cas'ter-ies, Athenian, description of, 131.
Dictator, Roman, his powers, 210; term first made indefinite in Sulla's case, 258.
Dī-o-clē'tian, Roman emp., 297–299.
Dī-og'e-nēs, the Cynic, 185 n. 7.
Dī-ō-nȳ'sus, 86 n. 1; Theater of, at Athens, 165.
Divination, 204.
Dō-dō'na, oracle at, 87 n. 2.
Domestication of animals, 5; of plants, 6.
Domitian, Roman emp., 286.
Do-mi-til'la, 286.
Donation of Constantine, 347 n. 7.
Dorian invasion, legend of, 82.
Dorians, characteristics of, 76; conquer the Peloponnesus, 82.
Do-ris'cus, plain of, 119.
Draco, his code, 107.
Drama, the Attic, origin of, 174.
Drep'a-na, sea fight at, 231 n. 4.
Du-il'li-us, Gaius, consul, 229.

Eastern Empire, 354–357.
Ec-cle'si-a, at Athens, 107, 108.
Education, Chinese, 69; Greek, 189; Roman, 325; at Sparta, 95.
Eg'bert, k. of Wessex, 335.
Egypt, political history, 14–20; civilization, 20–29; under the Ptolemies, 158; Roman province, 273; conquest of, by Saracens, 362.
Elam, 33.
Elgin (ĕl'gin), Lord, 167 n. 3.
E'lis, description of, 72.
Em-ped'o-clēs, 181 n. 3.
England, origin of name, 335; Anglo-Saxon conquest, 335.
En'ni-us, poet, 321.
E-pam-i-non'das, 147, 148.
Eph'e-sus, early Ionian colony, 83.
Eph-i-al'tēs, Greek traitor, 120.
Eph'ors, the, at Sparta, 94.
Ep-ic-te'tus, the Stoic, 323.
Ep-i-cu'rus, 186.
Ē-pī'rus, district of, 71.
Ē-rē'tri-a, 115.
Eridu (ā'ri-dōō), city, 31.
Erinnyes (ē-rĭn'ī-ēz), the, 86 n. 1.
Ē'ros, 86 n. 1.
Ē-tru'ri-a, 195, 218.
E-trus'cans, 197.
Eu-bœ'a, island, 74.
Eu'clid, the mathematician, 187.
Eu'me-nēs, k. of Pergamum, 242.
Eumenides (ū-mĕn'ī-dēz), the, 86 n. 1.
Eu'pa-trids, the, at Athens, 107.
Euphrates, valley of the, 30.
Eu-rip'i-dēs, tragic poet, 176.
Eu-ro'tas, river, 74.
Euxine Sea (ūk'sin), Greek colonies on, 100.

Fabius Maximus, "the Delayer," 237.
Fabius, Quintus, 235.
False Decretals, the, 347 n. 7.
Family, the Roman, 199.
Fasces (făs'sēz), the, 201, 211.
Fayum (fī-ōōm'), district of the, 17.
Fetiales. See *Heralds*.
Finns, the, 341.
Fire, origin of its use, 4.
Fire worshipers, 362 n. 7.
Flaminian Way, 233. See *Via Flaminia*.
Flam-i-nī'nus, Roman general, 242.
Fla-min'i-us, Gaius, Roman general, 237.
Flavian Age, 285.
Forum, Roman, in time of the kings, 207.
Franks, form first settlement in Gaul, 312; under the Merovingians, 334; their conversion, 338.

Furius Camillus, Marcus, dictator, 219.
Future life, doctrine of, among the Egyptians, 23; among the Babylonians, 38; among the Hebrews, 53.

Gā'dēş, 57.
Gaius Cæsar. See *Caligula*.
Galba, Roman emp., 284.
Ga-le'ri-us, Roman emp., 299.
Gal'li-a Cis-al-pi'na, origin of name, 195.
Galton quoted, 133 n. 6.
Gas'cons, the, 370 n. 2.
Gaul, conquest of, by Cæsar, 264. See *Gauls*.
Gauls, their invasion of Greece, 160; early settlement in North Italy, 197; sack Rome, 218; Rome's war with, between First and Second Punic Wars, 233.
Gau'ta-ma. See *Buddha*.
Ge-dro'si-a, 154.
Geiseric (gī'zer-ik), Vandal leader, 314.
Ge'lo, tyrant of Syracuse, 119.
Gens (clan), the, among the Greeks, 84; in early Rome, 200.
German tribes. See *Teutons*.
Gideon, Hebrew judge, 49.
Gĭl'gä-mĕsh, Epic of, 39.
Gladiatorial combats, given by Augustus, 278; their suppression, 308; attitude of Christians towards, 308; general description of the shows, 327–329.
Gladiators, war of the, 259.
Gordian knot, 152 n. 2.
Gor'gi-as, 181 n. 4.
Goths, Eastern. See *Ostrogoths*.
Goths, Western. See *Visigoths*.
Grac'chus, Gaius, 250.
Gracchus, Tiberius, 250.
Gra-nī'cus, battle of, 152.
Gratian, Roman emp., 305 n. 1, 306.
Great Wall, the Chinese, 70.
Grecian games, influence of, 88.
Greece, geography of, 71–75.
Greek Church, the, 347.
Greek Empire. See *Eastern Empire*.
Greeks, their legends, 77–83; inheritance of, 84–91. See *Hellenes*.
Grotefend (grō'te-fend), 37 n. 4.
Guadalquivir (gŭä-däl-ké-vēr'), river, 365.
Guebers (gē'bers). See *Fire worshipers*.
Gy-lip'pus, Spartan general, 142.

Hades (hā'dēz), 85.
Hadrian, Roman emp., reign, 288.
Hadrian Wall in Britain, 289.
Hā'lys, river, 59.
Ha-mil'car Barca, Carthaginian general, 234.
Hamites, 11.
Hammurabi (ham-mo͞o-rä'bē), Babylonian king, 33; his code, 39.
Hanging gardens of Babylon, 47 n. 1.
Hannibal, 234–240.
Här-mō'di-us, Athenian tyrannicide, 109.
Harun-al-Rashid (hä-ro͞on'-äl-räsh''-id), caliph, 364.
Ha-rus'pi-ces, art of the, 204.
Has'dru-bal, brother of Hannibal, 239.
Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, 234.
Hassan (hä'sen), 364 n. 8.
He'be, 86 n. 1.
Hebrews, the, 49–53.
Hegira (hĕ-jī'rä *or* hĕj'i-rä), the, 360.
Hel'i-con, Mount, 73.
Hel'las, term defined, 71.
Hel-le'nēş, or Hel'lēnes, 71, 74, 75. See *Greeks*.
Hel'les-pont, the, 99.
He'lots, the, at Sparta, 93.
He-phæs'tus, 86.
Hep'tarch-y, Saxon, 335.
He'ra, 86.
Her-a-cle'a, battle of, 224.
Her'a-clēş, 78.
Her-a-clī'dæ, return of the, 82.
Her-a-clī'tus, 180 n. 2.
Her'a-clī'us, Eastern emp., reign, 356.
Heralds, College of, 205.
Her-cū-lā'ne-um, 286.
Hermann. See *Arminius*.
Her'mēş, 86.
Hermits, 341.
Her'mus, river, 59.
He-rod'o-tus, 176.
He'si-od, 173.
Hes'ti-a, 86.

Hī'e-ro II, tyrant of Syracuse, 229.
Hieroglyphics, Egyptian, 21.
Him'e-ra, battle of, 123 n. 6.
Hip-pär'chus, astronomer, 188.
Hipparchus, Athenian tyrant, 109.
Hip'pi-as, 109, 111.
Hip-poc'ra-tēs, physician, 188.
Hiram, k. of Tyre, 50.
Hittites, the, 18.
Holy Roman Empire, name attaches to Western Empire, 372.
Homer, 172.
Homeric poems, 90, 172.
Ho-no'ri-us, Roman emp., 307.
Horace, poet, 278, 321.
Hor-ten'si-us, jurist, 322.
Hō'rus, Egyptian deity, 23.
Ho-sain', 364 n. 8.
Hos-til'i-us, Tullus, k. of Rome, 206.
Huns, drive Goths across the Danube, 305; defeated at Châlons, 312.
Hyk'sōs, the, 17.
Hy-met'tus, Mount, 73.

Iconoclastic controversy, 346, 347.
Ic-tī'nus, architect, 133.
Il'i-os. See *Trojan War.*
Imperator, the title, 274.
India, early history, 65–67.
Iona (ī-ō'na *or* ē-ō'na), monastery, 340.
Ionia, cities of, reduced by Cyrus, 112; revolt against Persians, 114.
Ionian Islands, the, 74.
Ionians, characteristics of, 76; settlements of, in Asia Minor, 82. See *Ionia.*
Ip'sus, battle of (301 B.C.), 157 n. 1.
Iran (ē-rän'), plateau of, 59.
Irene (ī-rē'nē *or* ī-rēn'), Eastern empress, 371.
I'ris, 86 n. 1.
Ī-sæ'us, Greek orator, 177 n. 3.
I'sis, 23.
Islam. See *Mohammedanism.*
Ī-soc'ra-tēs, Greek orator, 177 n. 3.
Israel, kingdom of, 51.
Is'sus, battle of, 152.
Isthmian games, the, 88.
Italian allies, status before the Social War, 253. See *Social War.*
Italians, branches of, 196.
I-tal'i-ca. See *Corfinium.*
Italy, divisions, 195; its early inhabitants, 196–198; united under Rome, 225.
Ith'a-ca, 74.

Jā'nus, Roman deity, 204, 278.
Japanese, racial relationship, 10.
Jason, 79.
Jeph'thah, Hebrew hero, 49.
Jerusalem, taken by Nebuchadnezzar, 51; taken by Pompey, 262; by Titus, 285.
Jews, revolt of, in reign of the emp. Hadrian, 289. See *Jerusalem* and *Hebrews.*
Josephus, historian, 52.
Jovian, Roman emp., 304.
Judah, kingdom of, 51.
Judgment of the Dead, in Egyptian theology, 26.
Ju-gur'tha, war with Rome, 251.
Julian the Apostate, reign, 303.
Ju-li-a'nus, Did'i-us, 294.
Jupiter, 203.
Jus auxilii, of the plebeian tribune, 212; *commercii*, defined, 202; *connubii*, defined, 202.
Justin Martyr, 290.
Justinian, his reign, 354–356; his code, 355.
Juvenal, satirist, 321.

Kaaba (kä'bä *or* kä-ā'bä), the, 358.
Ker-män', 362 n. 7.
Khōr-sä-bäd', 42.
Khufu. See *Cheops.*
Kō'ran, the, 361.

Lab'a-rum, the, 300.
Laç-e-dæ'mon, 72.
La-co'ni-a, geography of, 72; ravaged by Epaminondas, 148.
Language, formation of, 7.
La-oc'o-on, the, 169.
Lapps, the, 341.
Lā'rēş, cult, 199.
Latin colonies. See *Colonies.*
Latin League, 198. See *Latins.*
Latins, ethnic relationship, 197; throw off the Roman yoke, 210; revolt of Latin towns in 340 B.C., 221; how treated by Rome after the Latin War, 222; political status of, 253.

La'ti-um, 197.
Legion, Roman, 208.
Lem'nos, island, 74.
Lenormant (leh-nor-mon'), quoted, 58.
Leo the Great, pope, turns Attila back, 313; intercedes for Rome with Geiseric, 314.
Leo the Isaurian, 347.
Le-on'i-das, k. of Sparta, 120.
Lepidus, Marcus Æmilius, the triumvir, 270, 272.
Les'bos, island, 74.
Leuc'tra, battle of, 146–148.
Lex Julia Municipalis, 268 n. 11.
Licinian laws, 219.
Li-cin'i-us, Gaius, tribune, 219.
Lictors, attendants of the Roman king, 201; consular, 210.
Li-gu'ri-a, 195.
Li'ris, river, 197.
Literature, Egyptian, 22; Babylonian, 39; Assyrian, 45; Hebrew, 51; Chinese, 69; Greek, 172–179; Roman, 320–322.
Livy, historian, 278, 322.
Lombards, kingdom of the, 334; destroyed by Charles the Great, 370.
Long Walls at Athens, 127; their demolition by the Peloponnesians, 144.
Lu-ca'ni-a, 195.
Lu-cre'ti-us, poet, 321.
Lu-cul'lus, Lucius Licinius, 262 n. 7.
Lusitanians, 247.
Luxury, Roman, 329.
Ly-ce'um, the, at Athens, 109.
Ly-cur'gus, legend of, 93.
Lydia, the land, 59; conquered by Cyrus the Great, 60.
Ly-san'der, Spartan general, 143.
Lys'i-as, Athenian orator, 177 n. 3.

Mac'ca-bees, the, 51.
Macedonia, under Philip II, 149; after Alexander's death, 157, 241, 242.
Macedonian War, First, 256 n. 6; Second, 262 n. 7; Third, 262 n. 7.
Mæ-çē'nas, patron of literature, 278.
Magna Græcia, the name, 100; colonies of, 100.
Mag-ne'si-a, battle of, 242.
Mā'go, brother of Hannibal, 238.
Man'e-tho, 15.
Manlius, Marcus, 219.
Manlius, Titus, consul, 222.
Man-ti-ne'a, battle of (362 B.C.), 148.
Mar'a-thon, battle of, 116.
Mar-cel'lus, Marcus Claudius, 239.
Mar-do'ni-us, Persian general, 115, 122.
Mär'duk, Babylonian deity, 39.
Mā'ri-us, Gaius, in Jugurthine War, 252; destroys the Cimbri and Teutones, 252; is proscribed, 256; massacres the aristocrats, 256.
Mars, Roman god of war, 203.
Marsic War. See *Social War*.
Mas-i-nis'sa, k. of Numidia, 244.
Mas-sā'li-a founded, 101.
Max-im'i-an, Roman emp., 298.
Mec'ca, 358, 361.
Medes, the, 59.
Medicine, science of, among the Egyptians, 28; among the Greeks, 188.
Medina (me-dē'na), 360.
Memphis, in Egypt, 15.
Mencius (men'shi-us), Chinese sage, 68.
Men-e-lā'us, 80.
Me-neph'tha, 19.
Mē'nēs, 15.
Merovingians, Franks under, 334.
Mer'ō-wig, 334 n. 1.
Mesopotamia, the name, 30 n. 1.
Mes-sā'na, Greek colony, 97.
Mes-se'ni-an Wars, First and Second, 96.
Metaurus, river, battle of the, 239.
Mī-lē'tus, colonies of, in Euxine region, 100; fall of, 114.
Mil-tī'a-dēs, 116.
Milvian Bridge, battle at, 300.
Mi'nos, k. of Crete, 78, 79.
Min'o-taur, the, 78.
Mith-ra-dā'tes VI, the Great, k. of Pontus, 255, 256, 262.
Mithradatic War, First, 262 n. 7; Second, 262 n. 7; Third, 262 n. 7.
Mœ'ris, Lake, 17.
Mohammed, 359–361.
Mohammedanism, rise of, 358–367; under earlier caliphs, 365; its law system, 365.
Monasticism, 341–343.

Monte Cassino (mōn'tā käs-sē'nō), monastery, 342.
Moses, Hebrew lawgiver, 49.
Mō'sul, 44.
Mun'da, battle of, 267 n. 10.
Municipal system, Roman, 222 n. 2; the *Lex Julia Municipalis*, 268 n. 11. See *Municipia*.
Mu-ni-cip'i-a, Roman, 222.
Myc'a-lē, battle of, 122.
My-ce'næ, 72, 82 n. 3.
Mycenæan Age, 72 n. 1.
My'læ, naval battle near, 229.
Myt-i-le'ne, revolt of, 138.

Nab-ō-nī'dus, k. of Babylon, 48.
Nab-o-po-las'sar, 47.
Næ'vi-us, poet, 321.
Nar'sēs, 332.
Nau'crā-tis founded, 101.
Nax'os secedes from the Delian League, 126.
Ne-är'chus, Alexander's admiral, 155.
Neb-ū-chad-nez'zar II, 47.
Nē'chō II, 19.
Nē'mē-a, 88.
Nemean games, the, 88.
Nem'e-sis, 86 n. 1.
Nemesis, doctrine of, in Greek tragedy, 175.
Neolithic Age, 3.
Neoplatonism, 186.
Nero, Roman emp., 283.
Nerva, Roman emp., 287.
Ni-çæ'a, church council at, 302.
Niç'i-as, Athenian general, 142.
Nicias, Peace of, 140.
Nika (nē'kä) riot, the, 355.
Nile, the, 14.
Nin'e-veh, 43, 45.
Nippur (nip-pōōr'), 35.
Nu-man'ti-a, destruction of, 246.

Octavius, Gaius, opposes Antony, 270; enters the Second Triumvirate, 270; at the battle of Actium, 272; his reign, 274–279.
Octavius, Gnæus, consul, 257.
Ō-dō-ā'cer, 315.
O-dys'seus, 74, 80.
Od'ys-sey. See *Homeric poems*.
O-lym'pi-a, location of, 72; temple of Zeus Olympius at, 164.
O-lym'pi-ad, First, 88.
Olympian Council, the, 86.
Olympian games, the, 87; revival of, 89 n. 4; influence upon Greek sculpture, 89, 166.
O-lym'pus, Mount, 73.
O'mar, caliph, 362 n. 6.
Ommeiades (om-mā'yadz), dynasty of the, 364 n. 8.
O-pim'i-us, Lucius, consul, 251.
Oracles among the Greeks, 86, 87. See *Delphian oracle*.
Oratory, Greek, 177; Roman, 321.
Or'mazd, 63.
Ō-sī'ris, Egyptian deity, 23.
Os'sa, Mount, 73.
Ostracism, 110.
Ostrogoths, cross the Danube, 306; reduced to obedience by Theodosius, 306; kingdom of the, 332.
Oth-män', caliph, 362 n. 6.
O'tho, Roman emp., 284.
Ov'id, poet, 278, 321.

Pac-tō'lus, river, 59.
Pā'dus. See *Po*.
Paganus, how the term acquired religious significance, 306.
Painting, Greek, 170.
Pal'a-tine(tīn) hill, 207.
Paleolithic Age, 2.
Palmyra, fall of, 296.
Pantheon, the, 317.
Papacy, claims of primacy by the Roman bishops, 344; circumstances that favored growth, 345–348; origin of its temporal authority, 369.
Pa-pin'i-an, jurist, 294.
Papyrus paper, 22 n. 6.
Par'a-lus, Athenian state ship, 143.
Par-nas'sus, Mount, 73.
Parrhasius (par-rā'shĭ-us), Greek painter, 171.
Pär'sees, the. See *Fire worshipers*.
Parthenon, the, 131; treasure in, 163 n. 1; description of, 164; sculptures of, 167 n. 3.
Pa'ter fa-mil'i-as, power of, 199.
Patricians, term explained, 202; in early Rome, 202.
Patricius (pa-trish'ius). See *St. Patrick*.
Pau'lus Lu'cius Æ-mil'i-us, consul, 237.

Paulus, Lucius Æmilius, son of preceding, 242.
Pau-sa'ni-as, his treason, 125.
Pax Romana. See *Roman Peace.*
Pe'li-on, Mount, 73.
Pe-lop'i-das liberates Thebes, 147.
Pel-o-pon-ne'sian War, 135–144.
Pel-o-pon-nē'sus, the name, 71; conquered by the Dorians, 82.
Pe'lops, 71.
Pe-na'teş, Roman household gods, 199; worship interdicted, 306.
Pe-ne'us, river, 74.
Pen-tel'i-cus, Mount, 73.
Perdiccas, regent, 157.
Per'ga-mum (or Pergamus), center of Hellenistic culture, 158 n. 3.
Per-i-an'der, tyrant of Corinth, 103.
Per'i-clēş, 127–133; funeral oration of, 136; his death, 138.
Per-i-œ'çi, the, in Laconia, 93.
Per-sep'o-lis, structures at, 64; destroyed by Alexander, 154.
Perseus, k. of Macedonia, 242.
Persian Empire, political history, 59–62; nature of government, 62; wars with Greece, 112–123; conquered by Alexander the Great, 152–154.
Per'si-us, poet, 321.
Phalanx, Macedonian, 147, 149.
Phär'na-cēş defeated by Cæsar, 266.
Pha'ros, the, at Alexandria, 159.
Phar'sa-lus, battle of, 266.
Phei'don, k. of Argos, 104.
Phid'i-as, his masterpieces, 167.
Phi-dip'pi-dēs, Greek runner, 116.
Philæ, island, 29.
Philip II, k. of Macedon, 149–151.
Phi-lip'pi, battle at, 271.
Phi'lo, 52, 186.
Phocians in Second Sacred War, 150.
Pho'cis, district of Greece, 71.
Phœ'bus. See *Apollo.*
Phœnicia (phē-nĭsh'i-a), 54.
Phœnicians, 54–58.
Pi-ce'num, 195.
Pindar, 173.
Pippin III, k. of the Franks, 368, 369.
Pi-ræ'us, the, fortified by Themistocles, 124; dismantled by the Peloponnesians, 144.
Pirates, in the Mediterranean, 260.
Pi-sis'tra-tus, tyrant of Athens, 108.
Platæ'a, city, 139; battle of, 122.
Plato, life and works, 183.
Plautus, dramatist, 321.
Plebeian assembly. See *Concilium tributum plebis.*
Plebeians (ple-bē'yans), their status in early Rome, 203; significance to them of the Servian reforms, 209; first secession, 210; second secession, 215; marriage with patricians made legal, 216; secure admission to the consulship, 219; to the dictatorship and other offices, 220 n. 5.
Pleb-is-çī'ta, 216.
Pliny the Elder, 286, 323.
Pliny the Younger, 288.
Plō-tī'nus, 186.
Plu'tarch, 179.
Po, river, 196.
Pol-len'ti-a, battle at, 308.
Po-lyb'i-us, historian, 179.
Pol'y-carp, Church Father, 290.
Po-lyc'ra-tēş, tyrant of Samos, 103.
Pol-yg-no'tus, painter, 170.
Po-lyx'e-na, daughter of Priam, 170.
Pompeii (pom-pē'yī *or* pom-pā'yee) destroyed, 286.
Pompey, Gnæ'us, the Great, 261, 263, 265, 266.
Pompey, Gnæus, son of the preceding, 267 n. 10.
Pompey, Sextus, 267 n. 10.
Pontifex Maximus, 205.
Pontiffs, College of, 205.
Pontus, state in Asia Minor, 157 n. 2.
Popes: Gregory I, 338; Leo I, the Great, 344; Nicholas I, 344; Stephen II, 369; Leo III, 370.
Po-sei'don, 86.
Pot-i-dæ'a, revolt of, against Athens, 135.
Prætorian guard, corps created by Augustus, 281 n. 1; disbanded by S. Severus, 294.
Præ'tors, 210, 219 n. 4.
Prax-it'e-leş, 168.
Prē'fec-tures, subdivisions of the later Roman Empire, 303.
Prod'i-cus, 181 n. 4.
Pro-pon'tis, 99.
Prop-y-læ'a, the, 131.
Pro-tag'o-ras, 181 n. 4.

Provinces, first Roman, 232; government of, reformed by Augustus, 270; condition of, under the Antonines, 291–293.
Psam-met'i-chus I, 19.
Ptol'e-my, Claudius, astronomer, 187.
Ptolemy I, Soter, 158; II, Philadelphus, 159.
Public lands, Roman, 249.
Punic War, First, 227–232; Second, 235–241; Third, 244–246.
Punjab (pōōn-jäb'), the, 61.
Pyd'na, battle of, 242.
Py'los, 139.
Pyramids, the, 15, 16; as tombs, 25.
Pyr'rhus, 224.
Py-thag'o-ras, 180.
Pyth'i-a, the, 87.
Pythian games, 88.

Quinqueremes (kwĭn'kwĕ-rēms), first fleet of, built by the Romans, 229 n. 3.

Races of mankind, 9–13.
Radagaisus (rad-a-gā'sus), 309 n. 2.
Ra-mē'sēs II, 18; mummy of, 24.
Reg'u-lus, A-til'i-us, Roman general, 230.
Rē-ho-bō'am, 50.
Rhodes, island, 74; center of Hellenistic culture, 157 n. 2; school of sculpture at, 169.
Rimini (rē'mē-nē), 369.
Rois fainéants (rwä fā-nā-oń'), 334.
Rō'land, paladin, 370 n. 2.
Roman colonies. See *Colonies.*
Roman Empire, definitely established by Augustus, 274–277; greatest extent under Trajan, 288; its final division, 307; fall of the, in the West, 315; restored by Charlemagne, 370; renewed by Otto the Great, 374. See *Eastern Empire* and *Holy Roman Empire.*
Roman law, 324, 355.
Roman Peace (*Pax Romana*), 225.
Roman roads, 223, 226.
Romance languages, 350.
Romance nations, 354.
Rome, early society and government, 199–203; under the kings, 206–209; sacked by the Gauls, 218; compared with Carthage, 227; ransom of, by Alaric, 309; sacked by Alaric, 310; by the Vandals, 313.
Rom'u-lus, k. of Rome, 206.
Romulus Augustulus, last emperor of the West, 315.
Roncesvalles (ron-se-väl'lĕs; Sp. rōn-thes-väl'yes), Pass of, 370 n. 2.
Rosetta Stone, the, 21.
Ros'tra, origin of name, 207.
Rubicon, river, 196; crossed by Cæsar, 266.
Rumania *or* Roumania (rōō-mā'ni-a), 288.

Sabbath, Babylonian rest day, 41; adopted as day of rest by Constantine, 302.
Sacred War, First, 90; Second, 150.
Sa-gun'tum taken by Hannibal, 235.
St. Antony, 341.
St. Augustine, Aurelius, 324.
St. Benedict, 342.
St. Bĕr'närd, Little, pass, 236.
St. Boniface (bŏn'e-fāss). See *Winfrid.*
St. Co-lum'ba, 340.
St. Jerome, 323.
St. Patrick, 339.
St. Peter, 284, 344.
St. Sim'e-on Sty-lī'tēs, 341.
Sal'a-mis, battle of, 122.
Sallust, historian, 322.
Samaria captured by Sargon II, 42, 51.
Samnite War, First, 221; Second, 223; Third, 223.
Sa'mos, island, 74.
Sappho (saf'fo), 173.
Sar'a-cus, k. of Nineveh, 43.
Sardinia, with Corsica, made a Roman province, 233.
Sär'dis, capital of Lydia, 60, 114.
Sär'gon, I, 32; II, 42.
Sat-ur-na'li-a, 206.
Saul, k. of the Hebrews, 49.
Scandinavians, conversion of, 340.
Scar-a-bæ'i, Egyptian, 28.
Scipio, Publius Cornelius, engages Hannibal, 236.
Scipio, Publius Cornelius (Africanus Major), defeats Hannibal at Zama, 240.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus (Africanus Minor), 246.
Scriptorium, 343.
Sculpture, Greek, 166–169.
Se-jā'nus, 281.
Se-leu'çi-dæ, kingdom of the, 158.
Se-leu'cus Ni-ca'tor, 158.
Sem-pro'ni-us, Tiberius, consul, 236.
Senate, Roman, under the kings, 201; number senators reduced to six hundred by Augustus, 276; admission to, of Gauls, 283.
Sen'e-ca, moralist, Nero's tutor, 284; his teachings, 323.
Sen-nach'e-rib, 43.
Sep'tu-a-gint, the, 179.
Servile War, First, 248; Second, 249 n. 1.
Servius Tullius, builds walls of Rome, 206; his reforms, 207–209.
Sesostris. See *Rameses II.*
Sē'ti I, 18.
Seven Hills, the, 206.
Seven Sages, the, 180.
Se-vē'rus, Septimius, Roman emp., reign, 294.
Seville (sĕv'ĭl), 363.
Shē'ol, the Hebrew underworld, 53.
Shepherd Kings. See *Hyksos.*
Shiahs (shē'äz), Moslem sect, 364 n. 8.
Sib'yl-līne Books, 204; prophecy in, 233; burned, 257.
Sicilian expedition, the, 141.
Sicily, Greek colonies in, 101; at the beginning of the First Punic War, 228; becomes a Roman province, 232.
Sidon, 54.
Sī-mon'ĭ-dēs of Ceos, lyric poet, 173.
Siwah (see'wä), oasis of, 153.
Slavery, among the Greeks, 193; in early Rome, 200; general statements respecting, 330.
Social War, 253; comments upon results, 254.
Socrates, his trial and death, 146; his teachings, 182.
Sog-di-ā'na, 154.
Soissons (swäs'sôn'), battle of, 334.
Solomon, k. of Hebrews, 50.
So'lon, 108.
Sophists, the, 181.
Sophoclēs, tragic poet, 175.
Spain, conquest of, by Saracens, 363.
Spanish March, 370.
Sparta, early history, 92–97.
Spar'ta-cus, leader of gladiators, 259.
Spartan supremacy (404–371 B.C.), 145–148.
Sphac-te'ri-a, island, 139.
Spor'a-dēs, the, 74.
Stil'i-cho, Vandal general, 307.
Stoics, the, 185.
Sulla, Lucius Cornelius, given command against Mithradates, 256; his proscriptions, 257; made dictator, 258; his abdication and death, 258.
Sū'mer, 32.
Su'ni-um, cape, 133.
Sŭn'na, the, 362 n. 5.
Sŭn'nītes, Moslem sect, 364 n. 8.
Susa taken by Alexander, 154.
Sut-tee', 67 n. 3.
Sy-ā'gri-us, 334.
Syb'a-ris founded, 100.
Symposium, the, features of, 192.
Syracuse, founded, 101; in the Peloponnesian War, 141, 142; fall of, 239.
Syria made a Roman province, 158, 262.

Tacitus, historian, 322.
Tal'mud, 52.
Tā'o-ism, 69.
Taras. See *Tarentum.*
Tarentum, Greek colony, 100; war with Rome, 224.
Tar-quin'i-us Priscus, k. of Rome, 206.
Tarquinius Superbus, k. of Rome, 209.
Tar'ta-rus in Greek myth, 85.
Tel'a-mon, battle at, 234.
Te-lem'a-chus, monk, 308.
Tell-el-A-mär'nä, cuneiform letters discovered at, 18 n. 3.
Tem'pe, Vale of, 71.
Ten Thousand, the, 145.
Ter'ence, dramatist, 321.
Teutoburg Wood (toi'tō-börg), 277.
Teu'to-nēs, 252.
Teutons, kingdoms established by, 332–336; their conversion, 337–340; fusion with the Latins, 346; personality of Teutonic laws, 350.

Thā'lēs, 180.
Thap'sus, battle of, 267.
Theaters: Grecian, description of, 165; entertainments of, 191; Roman, 319; entertainments of, 326.
Theban supremacy, 148.
Thebes in Egypt, 16.
Thebes, in Greece, seized by the Spartans, 147; liberated by Pelopidas, 147; hegemony of, 148; destroyed by Alexander the Great, 152.
The-mis'to-clēs, his naval policy, 117; his agency in convening the Council of Corinth, 118; interprets the oracle of the "wooden walls," 121; his naval policy, 124; his ostracism and death, 124 n. 1.
The-oc'ri-tus, poet, 179.
The-od'o-ric, k. of the Ostrogoths, 332.
Theodosius I, the Great, Roman emp., 306, 307.
Ther'mæ, Roman, 320.
Ther-mop'y-læ, battle of, 120.
Theseus (thē'sūs), k. of Athens, 78, 106.
Thes'sa-ly, description of, 71.
The'tes, 108.
Thirty Tyrants, the, at Athens, 145.
Thirty Years' Truce, the, 129.
Thôr, German deity, 339.
Thoth'mēs III, 18.
Thu-cyd'i-dēs, the historian, 177.
Tiber, river, 198.
Tiberius, Roman emp., 281.
Ti-cī'nus, battle of the, 236.
Tigris, valley of the, 30.
Tī'mon, the misanthrope, 140.
Tī'ryns, 72, 82 n. 3.
Titus, Roman emp., 285, 286.
Toga, the, 326.
Tours (tōōr), battle of, 363.
Trajan, Roman emp., 287.
Transmigration, Hindu doctrine of, 66.
Tras-i-me'nus, Lake, battle at, 236.
Trē'bi-a, battle of the, 236.
Tribes, divisions of the Roman community, 201; the four Servian, 208; maximum number, 208 n. 5.
Tri-bō'ni-an, jurist, 324.
Tribunes, military, with consular power, creation of office, 216; abolished, 219.
Tribunes, plebeian, first, 211, 212; powers absorbed by Augustus, 275.
Triumph, last, at Rome, 308.
Triumvirate, First, 263; Second, 270.
Trojan War, legend of, 80.
Truceless War, the, 234.
Twelve Tables, the, 214, 215.
Tyne (tīn), the, 289.
Tȳ'phōn, 23.
Tyrants, the Greek Age of, 102–104.
Tyre, history of, 55; siege of, by Alexander, 153.

Ul'fi-las, apostle of the Goths, 337.
Umbria, 195.

Valens, Roman emp., 305 n. 1, 306.
Val-en-tin'i-an I, Roman emp., 305 n. 1.
Valerio-Horatian laws, 216.
Vandals, kingdom of the, in Spain, 312; in Africa, 312; sack Rome, 313; destroyed by Belisarius, 333.
Varro, Gaius Terentius, consul, 237.
Varus, Quintilius, defeated by Arminius, 277.
Vē'das (*or* vā'das), sacred books of the Hindus, 66.
Veii (vē'yī), siege and capture, 217.
Venice, its beginnings, 313.
Ver-çel'læ, battle at, 253.
Vergil, 278, 321.
Ver'rēs, proprætor, 259, 277.
Vespasian (ves-pā'zhi-an), Flavius, Roman emp., 285.
Vesta, worship of, at Rome, 204.
Vī'a, Ap'pi-a, construction begun, 223; *Fla-min'i-a*, construction of, 233.
Vin-do-bo'na, 291.
Visigoths, cross the Danube, 305; reduced to submission by Theodosius, 306; invade Italy, 307; second invasion, 309; after sack of Rome, 311; establish kingdom in Spain, 311.
Vi-tel'li-us, Roman emp., 285.
Volscians, 212.

Win'frid, apostle of Germany, 340.

Woman, social position of, in Greece, 190; at Rome, 326.
Writing, invention of, 7; Egyptian system, 21; Chinese, 67.

Xan-thip′pē, 182 n. 5.
Xen′o-phon, 145, 177.
Xeres (hā-rĕs′), battle of, 363.
Xerxes (zĕrks′ēz) I, 62; invades Greece, 118–122.

Yah-weh (yäh-wā′), 52.
Yezd, city, 362 n. 7.
Yoke, symbol of submission, 214 n. 1.

Zā′ma, battle at, 240.
Zē′la, battle at, 266.
Zĕnd-A-ves′tă, 63.
Zē′nō, the Stoic, 185.
Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, 296.
Zeus (zūs), 86; oracles of, 87.
Zeuxis (zūks′iss), Greek painter, 171.
Zō-rō-as′ter, 63.

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